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Going private: a new series

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HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT
Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. Telephone 01-253 3000

A tale of two generals

The news from Turkey's universities grows more disturbing by the week. The higher education authorities are using the draconian regulations of military government to circumvent the legal and institutional protections of academic freedom that formally exist in Turkey in order to conduct a purge of teachers who hold, or are simply associated with, views that are considered subversive by General Evren and his colleagues.

The news from Poland is equally gloomy. Another general, Jaruzelski, is also losing patience with the time-consuming ways of intellectuals. His forthright attack on Monday in which he accused them of sabotaging the socialist system and warned that "proper administrative measures" would be taken against them is surely the prelude to a purge of the universities. This has perhaps been inevitable since the imposition of martial law and the crushing of Solidarity but so far has been postponed by a sustained attempt on both sides, with some good will, to bridge a probably unbridgeable gap.

The immediate temptation in Britain is to react to this sad news either in a spirit of automatic (and anemic?) condemnation that reflects the comfortable insensitivity and complacent superiority that can be afforded in western Europe or out of a desire to score points off domestic rivals. So the right condemns oppression in Poland as an example of Communist totalitarianism, and the left condemns events in Turkey as a right-wing military dictatorship. In both cases, of course, the truth is considerably more complex.

It may be easy to conclude that such complacent or self-serving condemnation can just as readily result as provide support for, those who struggle to preserve academic freedom under difficult conditions in Turkey and Poland and many other countries. Yet the third course, to try to understand the complexity of circumstances in particular countries and then to compare them, so ranking them implicitly at any rate in order of guilt, can be equally hazardous. How can one realistically compare conditions in the land of Copernicus and Kosciuszko with those in the laod of Suleiman and Atatürk, and then test both by the political and philosophical codes developed in France, Britain and the United States during the late eighteenth century?

Yet some attempt at subtlety has to be made. The paradox in Turkey is that the military government regards itself as the guardian of a modernizing secular society, while one of the preconditions of such a society is a proper tradition of intellectual freedom. So ultimately the justification

for oppression, to stamp out anti-liberal views whether Communist or Islamic, is the same as the justification for resisting this very oppression, in the name of a liberal university tradition. It is difficult to say whether this confusing paradox is ground for hope or despair.

In Poland the situation is quite different. Admittedly the imposition of martial law, and the extraordinary inversion of the normal relationship between army and party in Eastern Europe that it has brought in its train, can be seen as a device to keep the Russians out and so as an attempt, self-defeating perhaps, at national self-determination. Yet the fact that General Jaruzelski will probably be remembered as a Polish patriot and even as a decent man cannot disguise the fact that the system over which he presides has no room for even the most conditional recognition of an independent and critical intellectual tradition.

For the moment it makes little difference to those teachers who are purged in Ankara and in Warsaw that their identical fates have been determined by different processes. The result is the same, and it is the result that must be unreservedly condemned. Yet for those of us who have the privilege to be detached observers the differences remain intriguing and possibly significant.

Yes, Dr Aldrie. Do come in. We come to the Lack of Publications Sub-Committee.

Thank you, etc.

Let me first of all introduce to other members. On my right Professor Middlethian - eight books and 41 articles, and on my left Dr Fife - 11 books, two of which are very long and 53 articles. And then, myself, Professor Stenhouse - 19 books and 637 articles. And, of course, administrative assistant, Mrs Dabarton, with just the four articles I that all clear?

Yes. Thank you very much, etc.

Now as you may know, Aldrie, this little sub-committee was set up by the General Academic Sub-Committee, and our specific brief is to have a look at all those chapters who haven't published anything whatsoever for the last 20 years. That I take it, is your present position?

Yes indeed, sir. Nothing at all the last 20 years.

I wonder then, Aldrie, if we might ask if you've actually thought of writing anything at all during the time.

Oh yes. I definitely thought of writing a short piece in about 1960. Good. You'll excuse me presently, could I indicate how definite my thought was at the time?

Fairly definite.

Yes. "FAIRLY DEFINITE INTENTION". That's most helpful. And did you by any chance have a clear idea of the possible content of this possible article?

Not the exact content. But a sort of rough idea.

"ROUGH IDEA." That's fine. Now how about a title. Did you make any progress in that area?

Not really, no. But, as I remember, I was quite clear on one aspect.

Yes, do go on, Dr Aldrie.

I rather thought I'd send the completed piece to The Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society.

That's fine. So, "A VERY CLEAR PUBLICATION: IN MIND". Anything else at all perhaps coming up to date a little. Say in the last decade?

Yes, I had another fairly definite idea in about 1976.

Oh good. Could you tell us a little more about that one. What form did it take?

It was critical.

Yes. Good. Critical of what exactly?

My earlier idea. Excellent! So let's pull that together so that Mrs Dabarton can put it into a coherent form for the General Academic Sub-Committee. I'll define the sub-committee's brief and we'll have a very clear intended journal. Finally Dr Aldrie, is there anything else you feel we should take into account?

Laurie Taylor



A Professor Cracknell of Dundee University has proposed a committee to investigate possible "sloth" among staff - THES February 18.

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The Times Higher Education Supplement

March 11, 1983 No 540 Price 45p

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New blood jobs race starts with odds of 4-1

by Paul Flather

More than 1,000 bids have been made by the universities for the 230 "new blood" posts that are to be filled this autumn.

This four-fold oversubscription represents less than half of the bids originally made by departments before most universities have applied a rigorous preliminary sifting process and sent in only those which have very strong backing.

The University Grants Committee acknowledged this week that there had been a "very big response".

The "new blood" posts will be normal academic appointments although in the early years their holders are expected to contribute more to research than teaching. Only those aged 35 and below will be eligible.

The most popular type of bid seems to be for multi-disciplinary research with a strongly practical bent like operations research and biochemical genetics.

The larger universities seem to have put in most bids - Oxford with 73, Cambridge with about 60, Manchester 50, Bristol 45, Leeds 35, Southampton 33, and Sheffield 26.

Lancaster put in 21 bids, York and City both 17, St Andrews 14, while the University of Wales at Cardiff put in 14, indicating that it had decided "to be realistic and not flood the UGC with applications".

Details of how all the bids will be judged are still being finalized amid a flurry of activity involving the five research councils and members of the UGC subject committees, with decisions expected after the UGC meets on March 24.

It is clear however, that research councils' committees will do "marketing" probably with UGC representatives involved, and then the UGC as the principal body will have the rights of veto and approval. The 200 science and technology posts carry a £20,000 grant and arts posts £15,000 each.

Leader, back page

Scottish Tories lambast the UGC

by Olga Wojtas

An influential group of Scottish Conservatives have attacked the University Grants Committee for feathering academics by unnecessarily holding down student numbers.

Many lecturers are disgruntled over the group's maintenance of student numbers, and reducing student numbers has been "an easy way out" letting many universities off the hook in terms of making real economies and improving efficiency.

Professors St Andrews, Dundee and Stirling universities for developing links with industry, but says that such enterprises should have been considered and put into effect sooner.

There has been "no wise plan" towards subjects irrelevant to the real needs of our present society, and universities have "exacerbated" their problems during the crisis through indiscriminate voluntary redundancy schemes.

It claims there has been widespread wastage, inefficiency and ineffectiveness among universities, and suggests cuts could be made by trimming administration. "Most universities are democratized to the point of absurdity, manifested in the number of university committees which could be drastically reduced."

It further suggests using centralized lecture halls, and selling underused departmental co-ops to increase university funds and reduce costs.

It also criticizes the "vast increase" in overseas student fees, saying that every overseas student educated in Britain is a potential friend and ally.

It concludes that while universities must play an important part in the country's future, they are badly in need of a complete overhaul.

In a paper entitled *The Universities Today and Tomorrow*, the Scottish Conservative Candidates Association says staff-student ratios should be raised to try to ensure that university young people can come to university and contribute to the country's future.

The paper also criticizes the University Grants Committee for "turning down" such proposals from the University Grants Committee and Principals.

The University Grants Committee



Michael Foot addresses the rally (left). Scottish AUT representatives set off from Edinburgh

by John O'Leary

An estimated 25,000 higher education staff and students marched through London on Wednesday to demand increased educational opportunities, only to be told by Mr William Waldegrave, under secretary for higher education, that the extent of the damage said to have been done by the Government was a myth.

City office workers looked on bemusedly as a chanting, cheering crowd of demonstrators was addressed by union leaders and Mr Michael Foot, Leader of the Opposition. He told them that the demonstration was "to save the country" in the face of cuts carried out by barbarians.

"One answer to those who would say there is no alternative to the Government's policies would be to restore all the cuts in education. That would bring back 100,000 jobs for a start," said Mr Foot.

After marching to the Department of Education and Science, the demonstrators lobbied MPs at the House of Commons. Later, a meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, was addressed by the leaders of the academic staff unions, Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour's chief education spokesman, Mr David Steel, leader of the Liberal party, and Mr Waldegrave.

Mr Waldegrave, in late addition to the speakers, said that he wholeheartedly agreed with the slogan "Britain needs its universities" and would expand it to include polytechnics, colleges and research institutes.

"In so far as there is a myth anywhere that a powerful higher education sector is an unnecessary or undesirable object of national policy, I am happy to do my bit to dispel it," he said. "But it serves no purpose in developing a sensible higher education policy for the future to try to create a new myth, namely that the savings we have required from higher education have laid our universities and polytechnics low."

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News in brief

Gays call for union boycott

Gay lecturers have called on their union to boycott this year's National Association of Teachers conference in Jersey, where homosexual acts between consenting adults are still illegal.

The Teachers in Further and Higher Education Gay Group has protested to Mr Peter Dawson, general secretary of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, saying that the NUT's decision goes against Nafte's policy of opposition to discrimination against lesbian and male homosexual teachers.

Nafte, which has close links with the NUT, normally sends fraternal delegates to the conference.

Fees rejected

Full students have rejected the university's interim plan to solve its amenities fees dispute. The legitimacy of the £21 fee demanded by the university for health and sports facilities has been referred to the university visitor, the Queen. In the meantime the university suggested compulsory levels of £9 for health and £50 for counselling services with an optional £4 for sports facilities. The students' union has now written to Hull's registrar claiming that a mass meeting of students has voted against the new deal.

Jewish exchange

Oxford University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem are to set up a fellowship exchange programme to encourage the teaching of Jewish history, focusing on the Jewish experience in Europe from 1848 to 1948. This is already an option in the M Phil in Jewish studies at Oxford, and could become an option for modern history undergraduates.

Economic measure

Trent Polytechnic is to run what it believes to be the first part-time MA degree in economics in the country. It will involve two evening lectures a week over two years with a dissertation at the end.

Loans protest

Oxford University has written to the Government expressing its opposition to the principle of student loans, and disquiet at the cut in student numbers imposed by the Government. The university's ruling body, congregation, passed a general resolution by 28 votes to 14 saying student loans "would be a retrograde step".

Thwaites' remarks

Comments in last week's *THES* (page 3) about action by the court of the University of London were made by Dr Bryan Thwaites, principal of Westfield College, who was given his views on a letter from Professor Randolph Quirk, vice-chancellor of London.

Pass mark passport to Oxford

by Paul Fletcher
Almost one in 20 undergraduate students going up to Oxford University in October could do so on the minimum qualifications of just two pass grades at A level, and in future the numbers could increase.

At present 10 colleges give so-called matriculation offers designed specifically to enable state school entrants to enter Oxford. These offers are often unable to gain special offers on potential, and more colleges are likely to join the scheme for 1984.

Official figures from the university reveal that overall the proportion of state school entrants fell slightly from 49.8 per cent in 1982 to 49 per cent in 1983. The total places fell by 154 (5.4 per cent) to 2,686 because of government cuts.

The figures will not give as much comfort as hoped this year by the university, which along with Cambridge is coming under increasing pressure to reform admission procedures.

Part-time degrees 'need UGC seal'

by Karen Gold
Since the "Passechende" of the University Grants Committee 1981 grant distribution, universities were bound to be careful of experimenting with continuing education until it had the UGC seal of approval, a conference on part-time university degrees heard.

Salford University's pro-vice-chancellor Mr Edward Parker warned: "Until the UGC's committee reports on continuing education, from our experience at Salford, anyone rushing forward to do anything but the traditional would be very unwise."

If we are going to go launching off on part-time first degree courses with great enthusiasm, but we don't have this as a criteria of importance in the UGC, it will be cut, it will be lashed, it will be beaten to the ground," he told participants at the conference organized by Goldsmiths' College, London, and co-sponsored by Birkbeck College, the Advisory

Council on Adult and Continuing Education and *The THES*.
Professor Randolph Quirk, vice-chancellor of London University, said that although some university enthusiasm for part-time mature students was linked to the decline in the 18-plus age group, nevertheless academics were genuinely keen on continuing education. "There is a great deal more flexibility in the academic mind now than I have ever known," he said.

But according to the conference's first speaker, Goldsmiths' dean of admissions Mr Edwin Cox, "the rhetoric of universities has gone quite a long way, and yet the reality is almost nothing has been done."

University admissions procedures, concentrating on elaborate A level score scales and conventional 18-year-old entrants, were failing not only to increase access but also to reduce the 14 per cent drop-out rate. "What would you think of a bird

fancier, one in seven of whose swans turned out to be geese?" he asked.
Wider publicity, perhaps in popular newspapers, was needed to tell people their local university provided part-time study, said Professor Lalage Bown, Glasgow University's director of adult and continuing education.

Protection of academic standards was seen as important not only for the universities and their conventional undergraduates, but also for the credibility of the part-timers' achievements.

Evidence suggested mature students were more sophisticated and critical in their understanding, but retained fewer facts, according to Professor Noel Entwistle of Edinburgh University department of education. Therefore they needed their learning and teaching organized differently.

Modular degrees, although considered helpful for the part-time stu-

dent, were not thought essential while both daytime and evening classes had advantages and disadvantages. Academic staff from Birkbeck College, London University, said that students are part-timers, not specialist teaching methods were needed for them, while resistance by teaching staff to doing daytime work in the evening was described by Professor A. Little, of Goldsmiths.

The Government is not taking in a substantial increase in part-time student numbers anyway, said a third speaker, Sir Charles Clegg, chairman of the research and management committee, Policy Studies Institute.

Dr Richard Hoggart, warden of Goldsmiths' said the conference might be seen as "the beginning of the beginning" on the road to bridging the divide between those who participated in education and those who did not.

Brighton Poly to lose 40 jobs

by Felicity Jones

Academic staff at Brighton Polytechnic are in dispute following the announcement that more than 40 redundancies are expected by September.

East Sussex education officer, J. A. Carter and Mr Geoffrey Hoggart, the polytechnic director have produced a consultation document outlining proposals for a reduction of the equivalent of 46.5 full-time posts. Natural and life sciences and arts and cultural studies, which stand to lose seven and 16 staff respectively, would be the most severely affected faculties.

The polytechnic branch of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education has the polytechnic is attempting to negotiate through consultation procedures. But redundancy notices out by the end of May.

Mr Bob Burn, coordinating committee chairman, said that they were opposing the proposals because there is a policy of rationalizing and employing staff before enforcing redundancies.

Lecturers are annoyed that while jobs are still being advertised and some departments like management and informatics, will be allowed to increase staffing by 10 per cent.

The union wants to negotiate directly with the county council as the employing authority and proposed discussion of the consultation document with the deputy director.

A spokesman for the polytechnic hinted that the redundancies could be as high as 80 by September. These were the outcome, he said, of the £1.4 million shortfall in grant allocation from the advanced funding education pool and although savings had already been made elsewhere, redundancies were now inevitable. There was no plan to close any courses at present but it is expected that some courses will be redesigned.

New technology 'not a cure-all'

New technology should not be seen as a panacea in education, a Glasgow University professor warned at a conference on "Scottish education in the year 2000".

Professor Nigel Grant of Glasgow's education department, speaking at the conference organized by the university's department of adult and continuing education, said: "It still leaves us with the problem of what to do with the skills that define human beings as one of their functions, work."

He means that more education is required to training in work skills, and it means that more people are trained in roles decided by someone else.

Professor Grant added that the last point was why he was worried about the Manpower Services Commission's role in the educational importance of the Youth Training Scheme.

Scheme for jobless is vetoed

Part-time lecturers in a white-collar union have vetoed a scheme for educating unemployed adults, currently under negotiation between the Workers' Educational Association and the Manpower Services Commission.

Members of the WEA section of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff (ASTMS) rejected the scheme because they allege it constrains what the WEA can teach in these classes, and provides inferior job conditions and security for their members.

The rejection is likely to embarrass not only the WEA - which has been discussing co-operation with the MSC under its Voluntary Projects Scheme since late 1981 - but also the central office of ASTMS which, like all TUC members, is pledged to support education for the unemployed.

An ASTMS spokesman said that officials would discuss the WEA section's decision with them, but that all such sections in ASTMS were autonomous in such matters. Since the MSC is a tripartite body, it must have agreement of the unions involved before it can proceed.

If the programme were agreed, a considerable number of WEA districts would be likely to apply to run courses under it, so that the total budget could reach £300,000. Although its brief would be to train the unemployed in basic skills, the MSC and WEA were agreed on a flexible interpretation of its aims.

Dundee rejects staff monitor

Dundee University senate has thrown out a professor's proposal of a new committee whose powers would include monitoring academics' work and suggesting dismissal if it was not satisfactory.

The university court had sent Professor A. P. Cracknell's paper to a select committee for a study. But senate said the proposal of a six member committee whose decisions could override senate's and endanger academic freedom.

There was considerable praise for a document from Dundee's Students' Association which attacked Professor Cracknell's proposals as "the complete antithesis of a liberal education and a liberal university."

The students agree there should be a committee on academic planning, but say it must include representatives from all faculties if it is to have a balanced viewpoint.

The students' association says it does not feel there is a sizeable proportion of lecturers, passengers and had teachers among staff as Professor Cracknell seems to suggest.

Soviet exchange rate improves

A new exchange scheme allowing British undergraduates to spend longer than ever before studying in the Soviet Union will be available later this year as a result of a bilateral agreement signed in London last week.

The two-year agreement negotiated by the British Council and the Foreign Office offers 38 places for undergraduates to spend 10 months in the Soviet Union. The existing provision of 96 places for three months continues.

The new places have been produced partly by cutting back the number of postgraduate exchanges to 30, which represents actual usage. There will also be an increase in the number of Russian teachers coming to Britain.

Historic step

Professor Geoffrey Elton, an authority on the Tudors and sixteenth century history, has been appointed to the post of professor of modern history at Cambridge University. Professor Elton, who is 61, has been professor of English constitutional history at Cambridge since 1967. He succeeds Professor Owen Chadwick who retires in September.

Five lay members for ABRC

by Jon Turney

Science Correspondent
Five new members will join the Advisory Board for the Research Councils this year, to strengthen the independent expertise available to the country's leading science policy committee.

Two invitations have already been made to the head of a major medical charity's research laboratories and a leading industrial scientist. These appointments will be confirmed by the end of the month, and three more will follow later in the year.

The ABRC advises the Secretary of State for Education and Science on the division of the £300m science vote between the five research councils. Heads of research councils, departmental chief scientists and the chairman of the University Grants Committee are all ex officio members. Each research council's budget plans in the annual "forward look" assessment are initially scrutinized by the remaining "independent" members of the board, who number eight at present, plus the board's chairman.

Negotiators walk out of pay talks

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

Representatives of staff on Scotland's new further education negotiating committee have threatened to withdraw from it permanently after talks on pay broke down.

Last January, the Secretary of State for Scotland set up the Scottish Joint Negotiating Committee, bringing together further education colleges, which are funded by local authorities, and central institutions and colleges of education which are funded through the Scottish Education Department.

The management side is currently offering staff 3 1/2 per cent pay increase, in line with Government guidelines, but staff maintain that further education management is prepared to make a higher offer but being restrained by the governors of the centrally funded colleges.

Mr Keith Bloomer, joint secretary of the committee's staff side, said the local authorities had informally made it clear they would have matched the 4.9 per cent offer already made to school teachers. The staff want 5 per cent.

"We reckon there is about £1m which could be available to further education lecturers and is only being kept off the table by the intransigence of the college governors," said Mr Bloomer.

There are around 6,000 lecturers in Scottish further education colleges and around 2,000 staff in the CIs and education colleges. The staff side will meet next week to consider its response.

They dispute management claims that their budgets give them no room for manoeuvre.

Liverpool closure resistance

Students in Liverpool are actively opposing the threat of course closures at the polytechnic, where 40 per cent of all degree courses have been in jeopardy at some time, through demonstrations, poster campaigns and the disruption of the governors' steering committee.

They argue that Merseyside is a special case, and that the city's severe socio-economic problems the present students had no option but to fight for the preservation of further and higher education places for future generations.

But the chairman of governors, Mr Christopher Holloway, who is also a Conservative councillor, was infuriated by posters and slogans that appeared on the windows and walls of the town and county planning department, that he ordered the rector, Dr Gerald Bulmer, to write a warning memorandum to the head of the polytechnic.

The slogans which made headlines like "We make profits. Why close us?" and "Dr Bulmer - Last rec-

Research Council did last year, he will be rather more isolated. However, the new members may also contribute to recommendations more to the ARC's liking.

The board has also made changes to the guidelines for submissions from research councils this year. Each council was asked to put forward arguments for specific projects which would need extra money, before putting in its detailed forward look bid at the board's meeting in April. The Science and Engineering Research Council, for example, has argued for more funds for an X-ray satellite project, a new programme on the application of computers to manufacturing, and for research grants for the science board, most of which go to universities.

ABRC to put together detailed arguments for increases in the total science vote to coincide with the Government's general public expenditure survey. The full forward look proposals will then go before the minister in the summer, as normal.

The final budget recommendations will still have to go before the entire board, but the increased membership will mean that if the head of a research council decides to withhold approval, as Dr Ralph Riley of the Agricultural



Stuart Mackenzie, a student at Edinburgh College of Art, shows his painting 'Memories', winner of a 1983 Stowells Trophy gold award. The painting was chosen from 239 works at a recent exhibition at the Royal Academy, London, mounted by Stowells, the wine merchants.

Applications invited for top Ulster jobs

Applications for the top jobs in Ulster's polytechnic will be invited this week from staff at the two institutions comprising the 1984 merger: the New University and Ulster Polytechnic.

The steering group overseeing the merger has approved job descriptions for the seven top jobs below the vice-chancellor - to which the polytechnic rector, Mr Derek Birley is already designated - to be sent out to staff in both institutions. They will be invited to apply before the end of March.

The descriptions attempt to combine duties on one of what will be four campuses with university-wide commitments. Four pro-vice chancellors are envisaged, responsible for academic planning, development, educational and personal services.

Two of the four will also be "pro-vice" of the Coleraine and Jordanstown sites. Londonderry will have a provost without university-wide activities but with responsibility for involving the city and district within the university.

The other two posts are those of secretary and finance officer. Outside applications will not be invited because of guarantees given at the start of the merger to staff at the two institutions by the steering group, which is likely to decide on the appointments next month.

It has postponed a decision on the appointment of faculty deans, at one time expected to cause controversy over whether they should be elected or

Lecturers' sacking will stand

Compulsory redundancy for four London lecturers came a step nearer this week when their school's board of governors, in an unexpected move, vetoed further discussions and decided their notices must stand.

The Association of University Teachers is now expected to serve a writ on the United Medical Schools, which comprises Guy's and St. Thomas's.

The four, two lecturers and two senior lecturers, are in Guy's medical physics department, which is to close when its head, Professor Sidney Wynd, retires this year. When falling demand led to the decision to close the department in July 1981, the staff believed they would be redeployed. The school says this is not possible.

The legal situation is unclear because their contracts, while stating they are to be employed until the date of their statutory retirement, also contain provision for three month's notice. The AUT claims that the school has not followed its own procedures in deciding their cases which, the union believes, is a separate issue from the closure of the department.

A meeting of the school's academic board last week asked the governors to give it permission to re-open discussion but the governors "saw no reason to overturn the previous decision", according to the UMS secretary, Mr Victor Warren.

"These decisions are unpleasant but the staff have had two years' notice on full salary", he said. The school had taken counsel's opinion and been told it was legally correct, he added, and as far as the school was concerned, "this is the end of the matter".

The AUT's deputy general secretary, Mr John Akker, disagrees. "We are astonished that the governors have overturned a decision of the academic board so lightly," he said. "There was virtually unanimous support for the cases to be re-examined. By taking this decision the governors will cause great divisions amongst all the academic staff at Guy's and St. Thomas's."

HIGHER EDUCATION

That was the year that was

On December 31, 1982, *THE THES* published a special review of 1982 as it appeared to the tertiary sector of education. In separate articles there were examinations of policy, universities, the public sector, unions, teachers training and the National Union of Students. Developments in science, social sciences, adult education and the problems of the young were also featured. Special reports on higher education in Scotland and Northern Ireland were included, and in the International section, North America, France, South Africa, West Germany and Poland. There was a sampler of the year's features encompassing Sir Peter Parker on pluralism to Dr Roy Porter's analysis of the impact of fashion on the sciences.

The eight-page review has now been reprinted and is available to readers at a cost of 60p each (including postage) from the address below.

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UGC weak on biotechnology

by Jon Turney
Science Correspondent

The University Grants Committee remains the weakest link in the chain of organizations overseeing biotechnology research in Britain, according to Professor John Bu'Lock, of Manchester University. Professor Bu'Lock is chairman of the British Coordinating Committee for Biotechnology, which brings together all the leading industrial and academic bodies in the field, and his criticism of the UGC appears in the forthcoming edition of the BCCB's Bulletin.

In an editorial, Professor Bu'Lock assesses the Department of Education and Science's recent response to last year's House of Commons Select Committee on Education, Science and Arts report on biotechnology, which criticized weak coordination of official policy.

He argues that the minor changes made to the UGC's arrangements, including attendance at selected meetings of the key government body, the Interdepartmental Committee on

Biotechnology, are inadequate. The UGC should have full membership of this committee, and should set up its own applied biosciences subcommittee, instead of relying on the existing biological sciences and technology subcommittees to deal with biotechnology.

"What is still lacking is any positive response to the need to have some part for informed people in science-based industry in forming science research strategy," Dr Bu'Lock said this week. "The Science and Engineering Research Council have moved in this direction to some extent, but not the UGC."

The BCCB is happier with the Government's response to the select committee in other areas, and members felt that many of the steps taken since publication of the MPs' report take the sting out of their criticisms. The earmarking of UGC funds for biotechnology, the "new blood" initiative and the strengthening of the interdepartmental committee's role were all welcomed by members at a meeting last week.

Professor Bu'Lock emphasized

that he was not necessarily looking for more money for biotechnology from the UGC, but he wanted more informed decision-making about university proposals, which took better account of industrial needs.

In the Bulletin, he writes: "It is not enough to attach this year's fashionable label on last year's syllabus of lectures, or last year's unsuccessful grant application; nor should it be enough for a faculty committee to cobble together some fundamentally spurious regrouping just to be smiled upon by UGC experts. . . . One only wishes that there was some better way to ensure that the UGC's monitoring of biotechnology will be done by asking people who know something about it."

● The National Advisory Body is to produce its own report on biotechnology in response to a request from Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science. The inquiry will follow the lines of a similar exercise carried out for information technology, being conducted by the NAB secretariat without the establishment of a new working group.

Part-timers' protection taken up by EOC

by Karen Gold

The Equal Opportunities Commission is considering the legal position of local authorities which reduce the teaching hours of part-time adult education tutors in order to avoid giving them protected employment.

Several members of the tutors' union, the Association for Adult and Continuing Education, in the London Borough of Croydon wrote to the EOC after the authority reduced all part-timers' hours to below the 13 at which they would be entitled to associate lecturer status, contracts, notice and holidays.

Croydon's decision affected women disproportionately because the majority of part-time tutors were women, they argued. In fact every one of the 13 tutors whose hours were reduced below 13 was a woman.

The EOC's legal department is now considering the issue, although not the cases of individuals since Croydon's decision was taken in 1981, too long ago to bring a case of sex discrimination.

But a draft directive before the European Commission may bring additional protection to part-timers, who comprise the majority of adult education tutors, according to AACE's general secretary Ms Lucia Jones.

The directive, which it accepted

would become law on January 1 next year, outlaws any discrimination against part-timers compared with full-time workers. It covers working conditions, dismissal, trade union rights, training, promotion, special

facilities, medical care and social security provisions.

It would also require holiday pay, redundancy and retirement benefits to be at least as proportionately as good as those for full-time workers. A way forward for adult education may be provided by tertiary colleges, it was argued at a conference jointly organized by AACE and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

Current provision for adults should not be diminished by the intervention of tertiary colleges, said AACE president Mr Ray Parker who presented a discussion document on the subject to the conference. But tertiary colleges might provide a more comprehensive system than the present one, by including all post-16 students without selection by ability or age.

The tertiary system should include remedial or second chance education, education for change in personal and social circumstances, retirement or redundancy for example, and for personal interests, the paper, *Adult Education in Tertiary Colleges*, said.

Provision should encourage access and encourage study circles and workshops. It should include part-time and full-time courses for all levels of examination. All classes should be open to any adult student and a guidance/counselling service should be provided.

The document is to be discussed in AACE's National branches and among the conference attendees, as a possible precursor to a union policy statement on adult education in tertiary colleges.

Warwick gets macro bureau

by Paul Flather

Warwick University has been awarded £350,000 over the next four years to set up a new macro-economic modelling bureau to analyse and develop the forecasting work of the country's top modelling teams.

The award from the Social Science Research Council is the final step in a long review of public support for forecasting work dating from 1980 and comes on top of almost £2.9m already committed over the same period to support seven leading modelling teams.

The bureau will start work in September and set out to improve the efficiency and accessibility of the various models, and to promote public understanding in the whole area of forecasting, modelling, and policy analysis.

The work is likely to prove sensitive, as for the first time a team of scientists will be formally analysing the carrying out of computer simulations of the work of rival forecasting teams. This is already standard practice in the United States.

Warwick won the award because of its all-round skills in computing and economic analysis, and because it had already mounted many of the models in its computer.

The bureau will be headed by Professor Ken Wallis, professor of econometrics, and editor until September of *Econometrica*, the world's leading journal in the field. Six research and technical officers are to be appointed.

Also involved will be a number of British and foreign associate fellows including Professor Marcus Miller, professor of economics at Warwick, and Professor Robert Lindley, director of the Institute of Employment Research also at Warwick.

Mr Mark Salmon, an economics lecturer who will also be an associate fellow, said the bureau will aim to make it easier for the "scientific truth" to emerge by examining the assumptions and structure involved.

BMA wants fewer new doctors

The British Medical Association is to press for a reduction in the number of medical students following a new analysis of student manpower by Mr David Bolt, chairman of the BMA's consultants' committee.

Mr Bolt's paper was considered by the BMA's council last week, and members decided it should be passed to the Department of Health's Committee on Medical Manpower, which makes recommendations to ministers of medical schools' intake. "BMA opposes on the committee will also convey their collective recommendation that the new intake should be frozen at 1979 levels, and gradually reduced over the next few years."

The council's decision to seek an initial halt at the 1979 level reinforces a similar call made by the BMA's annual representative meeting in that year, but would now itself mean a cut in numbers as the total intake has since risen from 3,800 students to 3,919 in 1982.

Mr Bolt's paper estimates that there will be a national surplus of 50,000 doctors by the year 2000, in present trends. This figure takes account of changes in private practice, migration rates, retirement patterns, and numbers of women doctors, as well as the BMA's wish for a reduction in GP's list sizes from 2,200 to 1,750. None of these is sufficient to offset the overproduction of doctors produced by existing training requirements on earlier, erroneous population estimates.

Mr Bolt considers it unlikely that the extra practitioners could be absorbed by expanding hospital and community services - this would mean a growth in medical manpower in this sector of 2-2.5 per cent a year, with a corresponding rise of 1-1.5 per cent in resources. He says it is for this reason that the BMA's recommendation should be taken seriously.

The BMA council's recommendation shows that the profession does not regard this as realistic.



A handicapped child from the William Harvey Special School in Tenham, learns to use a computer-driven toy made for the school's interior design students from Middlesex Polytechnic. The child worked in groups with classes at the school to develop, design and make toys suitable for severely educationally subnormal children.

Cat lovers take a pet

Elderly animal lovers have been besieging the Department of Geriatric Medicine at the University of Birmingham after national and local newspapers reported that the department was handing out free cats.

Researchers are carrying out a six-month survey to find out why old people own pets and what the benefits and disadvantages are. They will study 25 cat-owners and a control group who have no pets.

But the reports wrongly talked about "cats on prescription", and said that selected old people would be given cats. Since then the department has been acutely embarrassed, according to its head Professor Bernard Isaac, by lonely elderly people, mostly women, writing and phoning for cats. Other people called to criticize what they saw as a waste of money, while a representative from the Cat Protection League was worried about the welfare of the "give-away" animals.

The BMA council's recommendation shows that the profession does not regard this as realistic.

Students may prefer loans to overdrafts

Students are likely to see loans as an increasingly attractive option because of their present financial difficulties with the grants system, according to the chairperson of the Scottish National Union of Students.

Mr Bob Maclean revealed that a survey of 10,000 Scottish university students showed nearly 40 per cent £200 to £250 overdrafts ranging from five imbalances. Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, and Dundee were the most common. The survey also showed that the percentage of students on overdrafts in proportion to the year of study was the number of fourth-year students on overdrafts ranging from 40 per cent at Edinburgh Uni-

Olga Wojtas at the Association of University Teachers' Scottish Council

Fixed-term battle looms

Universities trying to impose short-term contracts would be a major battleground for the AUT over the next year, warned Dr Ronald Emanuel, junior vice president of the association.

"You only have to look at the back pages of *The Times* to see that temporary contracts are being introduced throughout the university system in large numbers," he said.

Mr Michael Jackson, of Stirling University, added that many universities were in danger of creating two classes of staff, and seemed to be trying to introduce the CVCP proposal of an eight-year probationary period by the back door.

But Mr Philip Burgess, of Dundee University, said there were more worrying cases where short-term contracts were being introduced without the association being aware of it.

Mr John Barridge, also of Dundee University, said that next year was 1984, and a major point in Orwell's book was that the state he described "was arrived at with the vast majority of people quite unaware it had happened."

"We have got to make people understand that we are an essential bastion of democratic freedom and democratic thought, and the reason we have tenure is that we are paid to think about, analyse and debate the issues of the day, and we can't do that if governments say 'Shut this guy up before he comes out with something dangerous.'"

Delegates unanimously passed a motion that students should receive full reimbursement of their travel costs to and from university. Any change in the travel award, said Dr James Patterson, of Strathclyde University, would be "one more step in the very sorry catalogue of disincentives to young adults."

There was considerable anxiety at the Scottish Council meeting of the Association of University Teachers over Aberdeen University court's proposal that the university should merge with Robert Gordon's Institute of Technology and Aberdeen College of Education.

Dr Judith Hook of Aberdeen AUT told last weekend's meeting at Strathclyde University that the union first heard of the court's decision when a member was phoned by the local radio station, although the university had spent £250 telezing the news to a court member who had not been present.

Dr Hook said she found it unbelievable that the court was asking the Secretary of State for Scotland and Secretary of State for Education and Science to set up an independent committee to examine the feasibility of the proposal.

Principal Graham Hills of Strathclyde University angered delegates in an address in which he criticized tenure and advocated student loans.

Tenure was an indefensible privilege which had alienated the public, said Dr Hills, and it should be abolished.

When cuts had been imposed on the universities, they could do virtually nothing to alter the Government's decision because of their "dependent and slave-like condition," said Dr Hills. "I know I have to be a compliant principal if I'm to serve the university well, and I join in this disgusting procedure of jumping on the information technology bandwagon, and putting in applications for new blood."

Dr Hills said the AUT should be active in finding ways to further the self-government of universities, and the only way to get independence was through financial independence. "We have to charge economic fees, because universities must derive their income

Union slighted over Aberdeen merger

"Because Robert Gordon's and the College of Education came directly under the control of the Scottish secretary, it might be appropriate for them to approach him," she said.

"But we have argued during the struggles of the past two years that universities are autonomous bodies, and should not need to go running to secretaries of state. We know perfectly well that the independent committee will have a strong political bias."

Professor William Wallace of Glas-

gow University said that in the past no university management would have failed to inform the unions concerned, or put its future into the hands of government.

Professor Wallace, a member of the steering group on the amalgamation of the New University of Ulster and Ulster Polytechnic, said there had been direct political intervention in the merger, and the group had "a long and hard battle to try to get things all of us have taken for granted, such as research, autonomy of courses, and the right relationship

between central and local government."

"All the unions in Aberdeen should get together to do the work of this so-called independent committee before it has time even to meet, and set up a series of conditions for a merged institution of this kind," he said.

Dr Hook stressed that the AUT did not oppose genuine innovation based on sound educational reasoning. A motion being put to an Aberdeen general meeting this week included the statement:

"We would welcome changes in tertiary education in the north-east if they were to enhance educational opportunities particularly for those well qualified students who have been excluded from tertiary education as a result of recent government policy."

Two universities fined for going over the top

Two Scottish universities have been fined by the University Grants Committee for overshooting this session's student intake targets, council members heard.

Dundee is being fined £40,000 for exceeding its target by 200, and Heriot-Watt is being fined £20,000 for overshooting by around 100 last October, although the UGC has just allowed it an extra 30 modern language students.

Mr Allen McTernan of Heriot-Watt University, said the fine came despite a UGC undertaking to the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science that there would be no penalty unless educational provision deteriorated.

"You would need a very clever mind to see a deterioration in advance, and I'm very sure there is none," he said. "Both universities are trying to work towards their target."

Sandra Hempel reports from the CIPFA conference 'It pays to pay your way' Cuts problem for Middlesex

There was a "gut feeling" at the Department of Education and Science that it was good psychology for polytechnics to open up opportunities for part-time degree study.

A move towards a London-wide approach to part-time work was the objective of a seminar held this week by PNL. It took as its starting point the view of the Advisory Council on Adult and Continuing Education (Tight) report that the pattern of provision was poorly coordinated and inflexible.

Mr David Croome, PNL deputy director said that they would like to see cooperation between colleges over teaching, advertising, courses and exit work, so that part-time students could finish their course on a full time basis.

He said it was ludicrous that there was no facility to study for a BA in economics degree on a part-time basis in the capital city. He thought the system which incorporated universities, polytechnics and the City College, linking up possibly with Warwick College, was the ideal solution.

The Polytechnic of North London is the only polytechnic in London to have developed a comprehensive part-time scheme through its evening degree faculty.

work involved at a time when pressure was on to cut costs.

He did not believe that the idea of the student paying his fees meant very much any more. In the days when he had to write a cheque for a large amount of money it was more significant but now all that happened was that a piece of paper moved from the local authority to the college.

On non-advanced further education, Mr Bird said he was convinced that the DES could coexist with the Manpower Services Commission and he wanted to correct the "periodic and glib charges" that we have abdicated our responsibilities.

They were bound to be points of contention over such matters as course content, fees and forecasts of participants but they were all capable of resolution. "We are right in there with the MSC," Mr Bird said.

● The problem of local authorities topping up college budgets posed the greatest difficulties for the National Advisory Body, said Mr John Bevan, NAB secretary. Political principle was often involved. "A local authority which will only reduce staff by voluntary means will have to top up and there is no way that we can take that on board," he said.

Mr Richard Lewis, assistant director of Middlesex Polytechnic, complained of the large amount of paper

The uncertainties and the timing of financial cuts made them much more difficult to deal with, Mr Richard Lewis, assistant director of Middlesex Polytechnic, told the conference.

Middlesex also had the complication of coming under the control of three authorities: Brent, Haringey and Enfield. "We have to win our arguments - three love," Mr Lewis said.

So far the authorities had not told Middlesex whether they were going to top up its budget for 1983/84, let alone 1984/85, and if this was repeated elsewhere the National Advisory Body's planning exercise would be marred by a lack of realistic information.

The only way that the polytechnic was able to keep up with the cuts was to reduce the salary bill, which accounted for 70 per cent of the budget. Over the three years the teaching staff had been cut by 100 and non-teaching staff by 110. Savings made on maintenance and repairs meant the college was reducing its investment in its future. "Cutting back on maintenance means we are accruing a big bill for the future."

There would also be a delayed effect on research. "As most research money went on staff time rather than materials and equipment and staff time was now reduced because of heavier commitments elsewhere, the implications for research were very serious."

Equally serious was the lack of bright young people coming into the academic world, which no amount of "new blood" money would help. To find a parallel situation one had to go back not to the 1930s but to the 1920s, when the First World War caused such a loss of young talent.

Vice chancellor defends UGC secrecy

Universities understood the workings of the University Grants Committee perfectly, Dr John Burnett, principal and vice-chancellor of Edinburgh University, told the conference. It was only the public that did not understand how it worked.

Defending the UGC's policy of working in secret, Dr Burnett said there was a "very real understanding" between the university sector, and particularly the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, and the UGC. Sending out "masses of blarney" in the manner of the National Advisory Body, did not help anyone. It simply meant that no

one over read anything.

Covert cuts to higher education would continue for another decade no matter what ministers said, Dr Burnett believed. It was impossible to assess the effect the recent cuts would have on the system, he said. While some departments could stagger through three and four-year courses with greatly reduced staff, they would then have to rethink their methods of teaching and their courses.

"The delayed effect on teaching will be very considerable and not in my judgment a good thing," he said.

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Proposed draft rules provoke hostile response

from E. Patrick McQuaid,

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. The battle-lines are being drawn on American campuses over proposed regulations binding federal financial aid eligibility to compliance with military draft registration. There appears to be growing agreement among academics that universities should provide assistance to those students who forfeit federal subsidies because they refuse to register, or fail to prove that they have done so, with the Selective Service Administration.

The amendment to the Military Selective Service Act, proposed by the Education Department in late January, would require all males over 18, born after 1960, to provide a "statement of registration compliance" indicating that they have signed up when applying for federal financial aid. Before any funds are distributed students would have to present a letter from the Selective Service Administration, acknowledging that they had registered.

Mr Henry Rosovsky, dean of the undergraduate teaching staff at Harvard University, said that in discussions with his professors, administrators, and financial aid specialists it has been suggested that the university offer employment not linked to federal funding and market rate loans to affected students. Mr Derek Bok, the president of Harvard, has deferred comment on how the university should respond to the



Students are worried about financial burdens

proposed regulations until further discussion with professors and his own consultation with the university's corporate governing board.

However, Mr David Steiner, Harvard's general counsel, has written to the Education Department suggesting that the proposal poses "substantial constitutional problems", echoing a suit already on file in one federal court arguing that the amendment violates constitutional guarantees against self-incrimination. Melvyn Nathanson, dean of the graduate school at Rutgers University in New Jersey, argues that the proposed law would reverse the traditional obligation of the Government to prove that an individual has violated the law before imposing a penalty.

Earlier attempts by the Justice Department to enforce legislation enacted in 1980 requiring all males to register for the draft within 30 days after their eighteenth birthday have not proved very successful. The draft prosecution of 14 vocal draft resisters backfired when a federal court in Los Angeles dismissed charges against one because, instead of pursuing a random sample of non-registrants, the department had singled him out, thus infringing his constitutional right to free speech.

Similar to the Harvard proposal - offers of work and high-interest loans - are discussions under way at Yale University. At Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, however, the administration has decided not to

replace federal aid with its own money but will permit students to seek employment and loans through normal channels.

Boston University has flatly rejected the notion of aiding non-registrants. Mr John Silber, the president, said that to do so would increase social "parasitism" and in an address to students, claimed that "no one has the right to live in a free country if they won't make their contribution to the free country".

Casual samplings of students at Harvard and Boston University find undergraduates evenly divided on the issue. Most males polled say they have registered.

The Government's plan would allow for "temporary verification procedures" should students be unable to procure the necessary documentation in time for their first scheduled financial aid payment.

Students who provide temporary verification and then fail to obtain formal confirmation from the Selective Service Administration, would be required to return funds. Money would be recovered, too, from students now receiving financial aid who fail to register once the law takes effect.

Regardless of their political sentiments, many college and university officials believe the new regulations will impose costly burdens on their institutions, require tons of additional

States draw up blacklist

from David Black

MADRID The Spanish Minister of education, Senor Jesus Maria Maravall is expected to announce later this month the details of the new autonomy laws for the state universities.

He has already made clear the areas which the laws will cover. In a recent speech at Valencia University Senor Maravall said: "The reforms will include a range of acts of parliament designed to lower academic fees and improve selection of students with a view to increasing equality of opportunity and access to universities."

He has also promised to peg fees to the cost of living and to decentralize the university system. The reforms will also tackle can-will stock, entrance requirements, the appointment of staff, building improvements and universities' rights to set their own exams.

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Reforms aim to improve opportunities

from David Black

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Spanish universities are currently seen as part of the civil service, with teachers having to pass a competitive exam before they can gain tenure. However, past practice once the

exam is passed, is for the "successful" teacher to draw a salary, but then pay a stand-in to do his work.

This has led to confusion over how many university teachers Spain has, and has led to unrest over rumours that the new socialist government may try to give permanent jobs to all the temporary teachers. Such a move would drastically increase the number of teachers, but not give any control over standards.

Senior academics have also been calling for a review of entrance requirements and methods of assessment. At present only half the students who enter universities finish their course. Those who do normally take longer than the five years laid down by law. One possible weak spot in the system is thought to be the fact that Spanish students seldom write essays but are assessed almost entirely on the basis of periodic exams.

The system has been unable to cope with the spiralling student population which in the 20 years between 1960 and 1980 jumped from 71,000 to 650,000. By 1985-86 that



Senor Maravall: promised to peg fees

figure is expected to reach 850,000, and one million by the end of the decade.

Senor Maravall said: "The universities we have now are a long way from what students demand or what we would like. Major changes in Spanish society have had a radical impact on the universities, which have not adapted."

Many of the planned reforms are

already being tried out with several universities being given flexibility on course planning and research work.

Support for the new laws has also come from the Conference of University Rectors. Its president, Senor Joaquin Colomer, rector of Valencia University, said: "We should be prepared to be objective about our situation and be prepared to accept any promise of reform that stems from a genuine knowledge of the situation in our universities. The Government must act to homogenize universities and bring them up to a similar standard."

Much of the opposition to the reforms from rightwing teaching circles has already been offset by exempting teachers from the new incompatibility Laws, introduced this January. The laws state that civil servants (teachers are technically included in that group) can only hold down one job and have no other outside interests. They principally affected MPs and administrators, some of whom held up to ten paid posts within the civil service as well as working in private business.

Committee calls for cash injection

from Lindsay Wright,

WELLINGTON New Zealand's University Grants Committee has drawn up a substantial list of recommendations for changes in the direction of university education following its adoption of the final report of the Universities Review Committee.

UGC chairman Dr Alan Johns said many of the recommendations need to be faced urgently.

Under the chairmanship of Canterbury University vice-chancellor Professor Bert Brownlie, the review committee, set up two years ago, included UGC member and former oil company managing director Mr John Fair and NZ Steel's managing director Mr J H Ingram who is Auckland University's pro-chancellor.

The review came at the end of a period of rapid expansion in student numbers, at a time of changed economic climate, and to a period of rapid advances in technology and industrial practices for large investments in the industrial development.

Outlining the changes since the last inquiry by the Hughes-Parry Commission in 1959, the review committee said student rolls had risen from 13,335 to 43,311 last year, with an additional 8,838 external students enrolled mainly at Massey University. There are now more women students (44 per cent of the total last year), and more mature students, with nearly a third of first-year students not coming directly from school.

There has been a strong move towards full-time study (71 per cent of enrolments last year), extramural study has expanded from fewer than 1,000 students to nearly 8,000 at Massey last year and there has been an increase in postgraduate study.

Commence enrolments have risen by 130 per cent to 8,418 students in the last decade while other enrolments grew by only 32 per cent.

Student life is now much more pressurized. In-term assessment has resulted in students working harder throughout the year and additional internal pressures are caused by competition for entry to restricted courses. Financial worries are another cause of pressure.

The committee's specific recommendations are contained in seven reports dealing with academic staffing, research, libraries, computer education, engineering, social work and management.

The committee said New Zealand academics appeared to be carrying a heavier workload with fewer support services than their British or Australian counterparts.

In Britain the number of full-time students for each equivalent full-time member of the academic staff is about 9.5, in Australia about 10.5 and in New Zealand about 12.5. In Britain each member of the academic staff is supported by about three members of the non-academic staff, in Australia by about 1.5 and in New Zealand by about 1.0.

It recommends an increase in academic staff establishments to maintain and enhance the quality of teaching and research as well as staff exchanges, early retirement and part-time or limited term appointments to provide greater flexibility.

It also proposes some rationalization of courses by the UGC's Curriculum Committee. Universities will have to co-operate more to achieve the best use of existing teaching resources on a subject-wide basis, the report said.

On research, the committee said that current funding levels for equipment and manpower are unlikely to maintain research momentum in all fields and would be insufficient to

exploit the universities' full potential, or to facilitate changes in research direction.

The report also recommends an increase in the number of postdoctoral fellowships, the appointment of more technicians to support research workers, and more finance to keep research equipment up-to-date.

The review committee has recommended special attention to, and support for, computing education. Resources should be increased to raise academic and technical staffing and laboratory facilities to levels comparable with those of other experimental sciences, the committee said.

On university libraries, the report said acquisitions should be maintained at the 1980 level to provide for the minimum requirements of foreseeable student and staff numbers. Support should be given to the establishment of a New Zealand library network based on the National Library.

Enrolments in engineering courses are expected to increase over the next decade, said the committee, and there needs to be a commensurate increase in resources put into engineering and technical education.

On social work, the report said there should be an increase in the annual production of graduates, partly by the introduction of a postgraduate course at Auckland University. Alternative professional courses should be established in tertiary institutions other than universities and exchanges between universities and social work agencies should be fostered.

Management education too needs more resources, according to the review committee, and the government can expect approaches for funding increases for staffing, computing, accommodation and other resources in this area.



North heads East

by Olga Wojtas

Professor Alastair M. North of Strathclyde University has been appointed president of the Asian Institute of Technology, the international university at Bangkok, in Thailand.

Professor North, above, who has held office at Strathclyde as vice principal, deputy principal and dean of the school of chemical and material sciences, takes up his appointment on August 1 for five years.

He will be responsible for 600 postgraduate students and more than 100 staff from 25 countries.

The AIT was founded in 1959 offering postgraduate education in engineering and science to meet the technological needs of Asian countries. By offering courses which are normally available only in developed countries, AIT is helping stem the flow of Asian scientists and technologists to the West, and more than 90 per cent of AIT graduates return to work in their home countries.

Funding for AIT comes from the governments of 27 countries, with major contributions from the USA, the UK, Thailand and Japan, and international organizations.

Medical strike spreads

from David Dickson

PARIS Medical students in many of France's leading universities and medical schools have been on strike since the middle of February, protesting at reforms which the government is planning to introduce to the structure of medical education, approved by parliament at the end of last year. The strike started in Paris, but has since spread to several provincial universities, where classes have been cancelled and meetings organized with the local community to explain the students' actions.

Representatives of the striking students have met the Ministers of Health, M. Jack Ralite, and the Minister of National Education, M. Alain Savary, to discuss their complaints. The students are particularly concerned that a new examination which the government is planning to introduce at the end of the sixth year of study could be used to screen out those for whom there are insufficient places on professionally oriented courses because of a lack of resources in hospitals.

The government has consistently denied that the new examination will be used for this purpose, arguing that it is necessary solely to ensure that students have reached a sufficiently high standard to move into the final stage of their education. So far, however, the students have not been convinced, and are keeping up the pressure on the government to provide firmer assurances.

The proposal for the examinations was contained in a package of medical education reforms that had originally been introduced under the government of President Giscard d'Estaing.

The reforms aim to modernize the structure of medical education, bringing it into line with directives on the training of doctors which have been issued by the commission of the European Economic Community in Brussels.

One of the most significant aspects of the reforms is that they increase from two to four the number of different filters or courses of professional study that can be taken during the so called third cycle, which starts after the end of the sixth year of medical training. The four are general medicine, specialized medicine, public health and medical research; previously, students could only choose between the first two options.

All students, however, will have to spend some time training at hospital internships.

In an attempt to calm the situation, the minister of health and the minister of national education have sent out a joint statement insisting that, contrary to allegations made by the students, the new examination at the end of the second cycle "will not be an eliminatory exam and even less a numerical censure."

The students, however, say that they have still to be convinced.

Business backing rises 11 per cent

Despite shrinking profits during 1981 American corporations gave \$1.14bn to education, an 11 per cent increase over the previous year and more than double its commitment only five years ago.

"These figures suggest that the corporate community is trying hard to maintain its commitment to higher education," despite reduced resources, said Mr John Haines, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, which reported the figures.

A separate study by the National Science Foundation has pegged corporate funding of university research at running between 6 and 7 per cent of all academic research and development, twice the level other agencies had determined in earlier reports.

Through a combination of support programmes the board calculates that corporations contributed between \$400m and \$450m in equipment and unrestricted funds during 1981, which universities applied to research projects.

The total annual corporate investment in university research and development, the board concluded, is likely to be \$500m. It also concludes, however, that "all available evidence indicates that private industry has neither the resources nor the intention to compensate for any substantial cuts in publicly funded academic research. If the present level of academic research is to be maintained, the principal burden will continue to fall on the public purse."

Environmental agency accused of blocking pro-nature liberals

A United States congressman last week released what he asserts is a list of 90 scholars whose candidacy for membership on various science advisory panels reporting to the scandal-ridden Environmental Protection Agency were evaluated by the Reagan Administration entirely on basis of their political views.

Representative James H. Scheuer, a Democrat from New York, said he obtained the documents from an agency employee who has provided him with accurate, inside information on previous occasions.

Mr Scheuer claims an environmental subcommittee is part of the larger House Committee on Science and Technology now probing alleged misconduct by agency officials regarding hazardous waste disposal.

An agency representative said it would be inappropriate to comment on the list until there was "hard and solid evidence" as to its authenticity and origin. The papers are undated and followed by a list of names and comments suggesting that scientists

with liberal or overly environmental sentiments should be kept out of agency affairs. Matthew Meselson, a molecular biologist at Harvard University, is called "poison" and likened to consumer advocate Ralph Nader - perhaps the most persistent pebble in agency shoes - because of his views on toxics.

Elsewhere, chemist-lawyer Nicholas Ashford, director of the Centre for Policy Alternatives at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is considered "very definitely out, smooth, a menace". Also "definitely out" is Dr James L. Whitteberger, a professor at the Harvard School of Public Health.

Mr Ashford, who has been an agency consultant under both Republican and Democratic administrations, said the memo came as no surprise and called it a "hit list" open government.

Reluctantly, the agency confirms that many names appearing on the list were not reappointed when their terms expired or appointed to begin with, though some receiving harsh

commentary do sit on consultancy panels.

A sampling of memoranda: "John Roush, an economist, 'should not be kept on the job, bad policy'."

"Maximo Corrao-Vivis, also an economist, 'increasingly, since a protégé of a reputable individual, bright and held in high esteem, now an environmentalist, should go'."

Elliot Montroll, a mathematician and statistician whose technical reliability is assessed at "120 per cent" but is unfortunately "bleeding heart liberal."

"One of the smartest advocates in the business" is Jay Clarence Devics, vice-president of the Conservation Foundation. "Smooth, absolutely smooth, the memo."

Some scientists are lumped into categories such as "clean air extremists" or "small-dar fish types", which refers to a tiny fish whose preservation postponed a major Tennessee dam project. The fish was recently removed from the endangered species list by the Interior Ministry.

Quebec teachers call truce in strike battle

Threatened with severe penalties by the provincial government, some 80,000 Quebec teachers have suspended their illegal strike, which has kept more than a million students by a 4-to-1 margin, early last week to interrupt the strike for three weeks and return to negotiations with the education ministry.

Most schools and community colleges were back in normal operation last week. About 20 per cent of the province's 246 districts had suspended one-week winter breaks and remained closed.

All 15,000 community college teachers returned to work, according to union organizers who termed the suspension "a truce" emphasizing that they were not backing down.

Mr Camille Laurin, the Quebec education minister, had promised mass firings, elimination of automatic

collection of union dues, and loss of seniority, as well as other financial penalties. The teachers did not agree to classes last week. Heavy fines are being imposed under provisions of the controversial Bill 131 - the Assembly Act approved by the Quebec legislature on February 12 to force teachers back to work. Mr Laurin refused to authorize formal bargaining with the teacher associations until the illegal strike was called off.

The strike, in protest at legislation cutting civil service wages back 10.45 per cent, originally threatened 800,000 public employees, including the teachers, was initiated by the Assembly and seconded by the teachers' union after Mr Laurin threatened mass firings.

The legislation, which was approved by the Quebec Assembly, has caused a major rift between the teachers' union and the National

Education Association in the United States. The Centrale des Enseignants du Quebec failed in its bid to elect Mr Pierre Trudeau as prime minister, over-ruled the federal provincial legislation, which the provincial government of René Lévesque has rejected.

Officials of the Quebec Association of School Administrators have issued a statement calling for the end of Bill 131, saying it has created a "difficult situation" for the province.

"We find ourselves appalled by the idea that human rights and freedoms should be suspended," said the association's president, Phyllis McQuinn.

Bill 131 does not have retroactive effect over Quebec's human rights Charter. The teachers are hoping to negotiate their job security and work-load clauses.

Students fail

A majority of prospective teachers in Colorado have failed a written competency test for mathematics and science, the state education department said today.

The university, which is named after the missionary brothers who first translated the scriptures from Greek into the Old Slavonic language, uses Macedonian as its language of instruction. The status of the Macedonian language and nationality are disputed by Yugoslavia's south-eastern

neighbours. To the Bulgarians, Macedonian is a dialect of Bulgarian; to the Greeks, Macedonians are simply Slavophones Hellenes.

Since the outbreak of Albanian nationalist demonstrations in Kosovo two years ago, the Yugoslav authorities have become extremely sensitive regarding their ethnic minorities who claim kinship with the citizens of another state.

Under these circumstances the decision by Greece to withdraw its students from Skopje and to cease its tuition, the status of the Macedonian language and nationality are disputed by Yugoslavia's south-eastern

Yugoslavia appeals

The President of the Community of Yugoslav Universities - the coordinating body for higher education in Yugoslavia - has appealed to the international university community concerning a recent decision of the Greek government which makes it impossible for Greek nationals to continue their studies at the "Cyril and Methodius" university in Skopje.

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Commonwealth economists trade ideas

The Commonwealth Secretariat has established a study group of some of the world's foremost economists to recommend fundamental changes in the international trade and payments system which is threatened by collapse.

Investigations launched

The Indian government has set up two national commissions, each with 20 members, to investigate various issues concerning school and university teachers. They are to advise the federal government on framing objectives for teachers, how to give teachers a status in keeping with their social role, how to attract talent and widen the catchment area for recruitment, particularly among women.

Gay news

The Australian Union of Students has declared 1983 the year of the lesbian. The decision has angered anti-gay groups. One women critic said: "Extremes are jumping off the edge of the earth. It comes to extremism."

She has called for a new national students' body on the grounds that the AUS is no longer in touch with the needs and opinions of its members.

Germany considers tuition fees

from James Hutchinson

BONN The West German government has been asked by the federal parliament to consider the introduction of university tuition fees. Such a step would find approval in the Christian Democratic Union and the Bavarian Christian Social Union, and there is considerable support for it too among Free Democrats.

However, the federal minister of education, the Christian Democrat Frau Dorothee Witten, has not so far shown much enthusiasm for the suggestion. She said that although it was necessary to find fresh sources of income for the universities, tuition fees were by no means the only conceivable solution. "We must not impose unfair financial burdens on families," she added.

The Free Democratic party has been calling for a thorough re-examination of the financing of the university system. The aim, said the party, was to improve performance to research and teaching - by strengthening personal responsibility and competition. The introduction of tuition fees had to be considered together with other proposals.

In the election campaign Frau Wilms defended her decision to make student grants fully repayable. This was a measure, she said, to promote a feeling of solidarity between generations of students. It meant that students, who were being prepared for well-paid careers, could make a fair contribution to the development of the university system.

Frau Wilms said it was socially unjust that people who had not been to university should be asked to support those who have the chance to study. The minister pointed out that repayment of the loans was geared to a graduate's income.

Johanna Co 11/86

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Taking politics where politicians fear to go

Graduates elect six members of the Irish Senate. John Walshe reviews the exercise of this right, considered by critics to be an undemocratic privilege.



Nearly 30,000 Irish university graduates recently exercised their franchise in what is one of the most elite public elections in Western Europe. The right to return six representatives to Seanad Éireann - Parliament's upper house - is regarded by some as an anachronism.

Yet, it affords a unique opportunity to voice independent and radical opinions on contentious matters and to raise others which the political party machine representatives dare not touch.

The recent election saw the defeat of one of the Senate's most original contributors, Professor John A. Murphy, from University College, Cork, one of the new breed of modern historians who have done much to demystify the traumatic events in both parts of Ireland this century. Like Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, who had earlier represented Dublin University and who is still a pro-chancellor of that institution, Professor Murphy has forced people to reconsider the basic tenets of their republican faith.

Last year, Professor Murphy, along with Dublin University senator, Shane Ross, proposed what for many republicans is the unthinkable - the extradition of terrorists from the Republic to Northern Ireland.

Their efforts were unsuccessful, but their membership of the upper house gave them a forum and publicity to provoke discussion which might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

This time round, Mr. Shane Ross hopes to get enough signatures to, at least, print a Bill for the legalization of divorce. He may well be supported by the members of the minority Labour Party. But the chances of getting the Bill through both houses of Parliament are slight, especially in a country which has only in the past few years legalized contraception for what are euphemistically called "long-term" family planning reasons, and which is currently convulsed by a debate over abortion.

Professor Murphy was winked out of his seat by a socialist sociologist from University College, Galway, Mr. Michael D. Higgins.

Michael D. Higgins is known the length and breadth of the country, is chairman of the Labour minority and a firm opponent of his party's decision to enter a coalition with Fine Gael under Dr. Garret Fitzgerald as Taoiseach (Prime Minister).

He lost his seat in the Dáil - the main house of Parliament - partly

because of this anti-coalition stand but also because of his opposition to plans for the introduction of a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion.

To stay in active national political life, the Senate was his only refuge. He could get there by one of three different routes - the two university constituencies, as one of the Taoiseach's 11 nominees, or through the complicated maze known as the vocational panels.

In the 1937 constitution, the intention was that 43 senators would be returned from these panels as genuine representatives of vocational interest groups, but the intention was never fully realized and virtually all the 43 belong to the main political parties; they are elected by local councillors, members of the outgoing Senate and the incoming Dáil.

From his point of view, winning a university seat was probably the best option. He will be less beholden to either the Premier or party colleagues and will be able to live up to the "certain" spirit of independence that has come to be expected of university senators.

He is a trenchant critic of the university community, most of whom he accuses of opting out of debate on the economic and, consequently, social crises facing the country.

With a population and unemployment level the main growth areas in the republic, a psychological depression has overlaid the very real economic depression.

But the universities, he suggests, have done nothing to lift this dual

depression. Their contribution is best exemplified by the academic economists who regularly pop up on television like "weather forecasters" - harbingers of yet more gloom.

A believer in the planned economy, he says he would have trouble pointing out more than a handful of academic economists in Ireland who put people first, not financial "rectitude".

And as the depression bites deeper with more cuts in university spending and "freezing" of vacancies, he says the level of debate in university staff rooms goes no further than the empty rhetorical question, "When will it all end?"

In society as a whole, he sees growing polarization between those at work and social welfare recipients, the former resenting the latter. He fears the growth of the right - not in the military sense - but in a repetition of "Thatcherite" policies accompanied by more and more repressive legislation designed to secure an increasingly precarious order.

He sees disturbing parallels in Ireland with the 1930s. The Eucharistic Congress of 1932 was a symbolic event followed by censorship, a clampdown on Saturday night dances and other changes which led Ireland into a dark age of the mind. The 1930s intensified prurient interest in personal sexuality and moral values became identified only with sexual morality.

Now the visit of Pope John Paul II three years ago has been followed by the emergence of right-wing groups who are no longer afraid of the light.

It is these, he says, who are pushing for the proposed amendment to the constitution.

The amendment, as it is simply known, is the most controversial political and religious issue to rear its head in Ireland for many decades. The proposed wording of the amendment is simple enough but its implications are not. It reads: "The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect and, as far as practicable, by its laws to vindicate and defend that right."

Abortion is illegal in the Republic under the Offences Against the Person Act 1861, but a blind eye is turned towards the 3,500 Irish girls who go to England every year to have abortions. The intention of the amendment is to copperfasten the legal situation in case the courts might, in the future, decide that the 1861 Act is unconstitutional.

Michael D. Higgins' views on the amendment as being anti-woman, sectarian and a worthless piece of "rubbish" that will do nothing to solve the problem of the abortion trail to England, infuriate many people, including a good number of academics.

For despite the more extreme views of some amendment supporters, there is no doubt that it enjoys the support of many people in the academic community, including the professors of obstetrics and gynaecology at Trinity College, Dublin, and at two other colleges.

They see the issue as whether or not the human right to life of the unborn should be protected in the same way as the right to life of the citizen is protected.

They also see in this amendment a unique opportunity to show a moral lead to the rest of the world. The previous Fianna Fáil administration had fully supported the wording, but Dr. Fitzgerald's Government is equivocating. Some Labour ministers have said they will oppose it, while others interpret it as, at best, a compromise. The main Protestant church leaders, while opposed to abortion, are also

against the amendment.

It will obviously be a controversial topic for discussion in both houses of Parliament over the next few months. Ironically, the opposition to the amendment may speed up calls for changes in the whole system of university representation.

At present, the National University of Ireland, with three seats, has an electorate of more than 50,000, while Dublin University (Trinity College, Dublin) with only 10,000, also has three. Graduates with degrees from the National Council for Educational Awards have no representation at all.

The three Trinity seats are a throwback to earlier efforts to appease the unionists in Northern Ireland, but the university unionist certainly loses one if the Government goes ahead with plans to change the representation. The break-up of the National University of Ireland into separate independent universities at Dublin, Cork, Galway and perhaps Maynooth; possibly each of the new independent universities would have a seat, or there might be an omnibus constituency for all graduates.

But the latter might baston the day when the graduate senators are all from the mainstream of political party life, their independence and radicalism diluted.

Shane Ross shares the concern of many Trinity people at the possible reduction in its representation. He says it would be absurd to change Dublin University representation because it is "undemocratic" while maintaining the Taoiseach's 11 appointments who hold no mandate at all.

He says: "The Senate consists of people who make no speeches; it manages to produce totally unuseful people on the Cultural and Educational Panel; it throws up people on the Labour Panel who never do a day's work in their lives. Give it credit where credit is due, it does provide some very appropriate members on the Agricultural Panel."

"So why," he asks, "has Trinity College, Dublin, been singled out by successive governments as having too many representatives in a patently undemocratic body? Possibly because the outspokenness and liberal challenges of TCD have drawn attention to the prominence of the university and its senators."

COMMONWEALTH



The theme of this issue of "Commonwealth" is interchange within the Commonwealth of teachers, administrators and students. Formal exchanges are only the tip of the iceberg; the informal and unorganized interchange of staff and students is an important characteristic of relations between universities and colleges in the different countries of the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth interchange is examined from three separate perspectives: ROY MARSHALL discusses the scope and benefits of the continuous

flow of teachers and researchers around the Commonwealth; JAMES WALSH offers a personal view of interchange from the point of view of the senior administrator; and ELAINE WILLIAMS talks to Indian students studying in Britain.

Finally ANASTASIOS CHRISTODOULOU, secretary general of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, looks at the state of higher education across the Commonwealth and looks forward to this summer's Commonwealth Universities Congress in Birmingham.

Old ties begin to feel the strain

In the political climate of the last 15 years or so the state of academic relations between many countries of the Commonwealth has become impoverished. The critical year was 1979, when saw Britain producing a policy of full cost tuition for overseas students and some other Commonwealth countries raising their fees. Yet such policies have not had a totally negative effect, for they have led to the sharing of concerns about the growing number of barriers to the movement of students, teachers, and ideas and to increasing efforts to arrest the decline in academic interchange in the Commonwealth.

As the Commonwealth secretary-general said in his foreword to the first report of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility: "There is a deep anxiety that if we do not fairly quickly find ways of strengthening educational interchange within the Commonwealth, not necessarily by returning in all respects to old ways, but certainly by endowing educational interchange between Commonwealth countries with a special place in our education systems, the Commonwealth connection will itself be in danger of impairment."

An important feature - indeed the underlying principle - of the old ways was the belief that educational interchange was a good thing in itself and did not need any particular end to justify it. If justification was needed it lay in the fact that knowledge is universal, cannot be confined within geographical boundaries and transcends ideological barriers. It follows that institutions concerned with knowledge should have an international dimension in order to do their job of teaching and research effectively.

If we were living in the Europe of six or seven centuries ago, the community of scholarship and the freedom of educational interchange that went with it would have been taken for granted. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, nation states had emerged and higher education soon became organized into national systems, their boundaries sharp and their internal structures correspondingly diverse. For all the liberal spirit of scholars and more-disciplined, self-styled "guest stars" from eminent research workers who did not time to stay and explain of their times their findings, "I am very bored with very important people who can only spare half a day," said a British professor. "They come in, give a one-hour lecture which isn't particularly relevant, and then go again. I steer well clear of them."

A dispute arose over whether research or training should take priority. If Europe was to compete with America and Japan, should it be training postgraduates or trying to make scientific discoveries? Some panel members argued that one depended on the other.

Certainly the project's success stories were those where European collaboration meant a development of knowledge and understanding, the example of the International Institute for Mediterranean Agronomy at Zaragoza was given by its director, Mr. Miquel Catalá. After 15 years' research in Spain has been confirmed by all the experts coming from other countries," he said.

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end were being made with some measure of success when the present Government announced the policy of full cost fees in 1979 and made it operative from 1980.

In the real world there is invariably a gap between the ideal and the attainable. Ideally, universities, being both national and international institutions, would like to apply the same criteria for admission to both home and overseas students. They readily do so in respect of the academic requirements for entry; but do not have the same freedom of action in respect of their tuition fees. Their constitutional powers are circumscribed by their financial dependence upon government, who link the amount of their grant-in-aid to the tuition fees which they advise universities to charge. In these circumstances universities have no option but to follow the practice.

Yet in practice the main issue for Commonwealth countries is not the discriminatory fee, however repugnant it may be to the ethos of universities and the spirit, if not the letter of their charters; it is the level of the fee and its use as a mechanism for limiting educational interchange. Of course fees are not the only regulator; some countries use quotas and some a mixture of fees and quotas. Britain has the paradox that quotas are said to be unacceptable for the purpose of regulating the flow of overseas students at the same time as they are being used to reduce the numbers of home students.

The action taken by Britain in 1979 was not intended to destroy educational interchange, though it has damaged it. It has, however, accelerated the search for new policies to meet the new reality that free circulation of staff and students is currently at an extremely low ebb and that the best hope of increasing mobility is likely to be through organized arrangements. Two recent reports, both published in 1982, contribute to this search: that of the Overseas Students Trust on *A Policy for Overseas Students* and that of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility on *Educational Interchange: a Commonwealth Imperative*.

An essential element of any new policy must be the establishment of a more diverse pattern of movement of students between Commonwealth countries. At present, Britain is the largest receiver, although the other developed Commonwealth countries - Australia, Canada and New Zealand - are taking increasing numbers, and of the less developed countries India continues to make considerable provision, out of limited resources. But the proportion of students moving between developing countries and from developed to developing countries continues to be small. The Commonwealth Standing Committee sees the establishment of a Commonwealth higher education programme as a major contribution towards diversification in the flow of students.

Its principal objective would be to develop parts of higher education in various countries into centres for advanced study and research and thus make them more attractive to students from other parts of the world. Let me now turn from the movement of students to the movement of staff. Here one likes to think that the best people are appointed irrespective of nationality. Let me emphasize, however, that university staff are not appointed on the basis of nationality, and specific legislation in

many countries, prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion, sex, colour or race. But nationality is a different matter: no one can work in a country unless he has an unrestricted right to reside there. And most countries now require employers to obtain work permits before offering employment to foreign nationals and many refuse to grant any entry, because at that time English university administrators were not notorious, as they are now, for inter-continental peregrinations.

Both reports stress the need to look at the level of fees, hearing in mind Britain's responsibility as a leading and special member of the Commonwealth and the international community and having regard also to her own trade, diplomatic and other interests, and both recommend that once the withdrawal of the subsidy previously provided for the tuition of overseas students is completed (this will occur at the end of the current academic year), fees be fixed at levels which ensure that subsidies are not again introduced. Marginal costs achieve that level.

The Overseas Students Trust report can be read as indicating long term marginal costs to be appropriate - these were estimated by the joint working party of the UGC and the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals to be about two thirds of full costs. The Commonwealth Standing Committee regard short-term marginal costs (estimated to be more than half but less than two thirds of full costs) as the appropriate benchmark for Commonwealth students, however strong the arguments may be in favour of long-term marginal costs for other categories of overseas students. The Government is currently examining these proposals in consultation with the UGC and local education authorities.

The Commonwealth Standing Committee makes the important point that since Commonwealth countries have a common interest in the movement of students between their institutions of higher education, they should not unilaterally, and without consultation with each other, introduce substantial increases in tuition fees and put other obstacles in the way of such mobility. Had such an arrangement existed in 1979, much of the anger caused by the British decision on full cost fees would have been defused and the process of consultation might itself have led to some tempering of that decision.

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Yes, it does broaden the mind

Some years ago, my secretary said one morning: "A lady from the British Council rang yesterday. They want you to go to Bangladesh". She said it with some excitement, not any envy, because at that time English university administrators were not notorious, as they are now, for inter-continental peregrinations.

It was October 1975. At that time, as a reasonably senior administrator in a reasonably significant university, my travels had not taken me further east than Bucharest (a long time ago as a student), further south than Gibraltar (OHMS), further west or north than Connemara or Inverness (on holiday).

It turned out that the newly-formed Bangladesh University Grants Committee wanted some advice, and somebody had suggested my name (the grapevine soon disclosed the culprit).

So the following January, Harold White (Lancaster) and I found ourselves jetted into the most intense cultural learning process in our lives. Immediately upon our arrival at Dhaka, we were perforce made aware that the overriding problem of the vast majority of people - including university people - was that of finding enough to eat, a problem which some of them failed to solve. This and related problems - lack of proper equipment, proper books and horrendous transport problems - made it difficult for us to give much useful advice. We were nevertheless treated as honoured friends with the most exquisite kindness and hospitality.

For a time, travel whets the appetite. The following year, I found myself, as a result of the generosity of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, in India, Australia and that other great Commonwealth country, the United States. This time the aim was learning rather than advising, and very rightly so, since there was a lot to learn. The subject was the use of computers in university administration and in the main I found that the Australians knew far more about it all than we did. However, once again, everywhere I went I spoke my own language, was met by friends in friendly motorcars and recorded the same exquisite hospitality.

Then, last summer, there was the second International Meeting of University Administrators in Hongkong. Some hundred or so people from 18 countries (all but two in the Commonwealth) met to discuss the financing and management of higher education. That conference had attracted some criticism, but I came away with a lot to think about, as I suspect did the Hongkong educational authorities.

I hope this is all more than just a string of personal reminiscences, for the examples illustrate the three main functions of Commonwealth interchange by university administrators - to give advice where it is sought, to study and to confer. They also illustrate how comparatively recent it all is. Of course the same of modern transport was the major factor in its development. But there also had to be organizations which were prepared to meet and/or promote the visits, and in the 1970s these were either to hand already or were rapidly being developed.

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Karen Gold looks at a European research and training project for the highly qualified

Postgraduate post-mortem

A programme for improving European standards of postgraduate research and training came under the scrutiny of a group of international professors, research organizations and higher education administrators in Strasbourg recently, when members of the panel running the Council of Europe programme decided to test outside opinion of their activities.

The panel has been running the Council of Europe's programme for the development of postgraduate training, set up as an experiment for three years in 1979 by the Council of Europe's Standing Conference on University Problems (CCUP).

Its task was to extend and adapt the curriculum of postgraduate training in certain subjects, and then through courses preparing training "modules" which could be used internationally by postgraduate students.

In particular it was thought necessary to spread research findings throughout Europe, on the assumption that in new subjects and new developments of older subjects, no one country had either the material or human resources to have complete coverage.

However the workshop courses would not simply be an exchange of research findings on the pattern of a research conference, according to Dr. John Salmon, assistant chief officer of the British Council for National Academic Awards.

Participants in a research conference consider research findings of other people in the same field," he explained. "It's a diffusion of know-

ledge sideways. A workshop is designed to bring knowledge into postgraduate work, to its diffusion of knowledge downwards."

The theory was that the assembled experts and postgraduates would then help design modules to spread the workshops' conclusions. In fact this has been limited in practice. When the project was first mooted there was "cultural barrier" resistance to Salmon, in particular by the British postgraduate work are still largely a nasty, foreign invention.

In practice, too, the amount of time and discussion needed to prepare such modules has hindered their appearance. Some are expected over the next few years, but Dr. Salmon, commenting that "modules may or may not emerge from individual courses", was sanguine about the value of those courses to the participants and their current or future students even without them.

Between eight and twelve courses or workshops have been run by the project each year, with plans extending into 1984. Subjects for which the project grew after research recommendations from individual researchers, institutions, national or international organizations, governments and Council of Europe committees.

Subjects covered have included marine resources, conservation of library and archival property, energy and electronics, and multiculturalism

in higher education. So far, their attendance has averaged 31 students from eight Council of Europe member countries and one or two from non-member countries; 28 academics from member countries, and one from a non-member country.

For each activity the council allocates around £4,000, a fraction of the cost of attracting international speakers and holding one-to-two week courses, but enough to give the activity the council's stamp of approval and therefore to attract funding from other bodies.

The CCUP's initial reluctance limited the project to only three years initially. The conference, held in Strasbourg was a two-part evaluation of the project by the larger group of outside experts, including those who had organized workshops, or participated in them, and by the project panel.

The exercise was unusual: staff of the council's higher education and research division thought it had never been done before. It was, undoubtedly useful, Dr. Salmon said afterwards: all the workshop participants had thought their activities worthwhile, and had described problems which could be solved to improve course quality in the future.

The project panel would reconvene in the CCUP next month to discuss the project's progress. It had fulfilled one of the CCUP's main terms of reference by providing an increasing European presence in

where there was little or none before. It would also recommend certain changes: in particular in selection and follow-up of courses, students and lecturers.

The prompting for those recommendations came in the two-day "trial" session of the conference, in which members of the panel and division outlined the purposes of the project, and were followed by reports from a group of course organizers from Italy, France and Britain on their experiences.

These were then questioned by the so-called "students" - those who had attended courses - and by outsiders from international organizations and the press. Political decision-makers were also expected to be present; in fact none was. Nor were any industrial or commercial representatives. Indeed their lack of support for the project workshops was commented on by Dr. Salmon as one of the project's failures, since they too had been expected to be interested in training postgraduates in new knowledge or disciplines.

Most of the discussion ranged around finance, and the minute amount of workshop cost represented by the council's contribution. Language had proved a problem in French-speaking students having to translate for their colleagues, and the level of knowledge needed by the students to make

clear the subject or amount of knowledge needed, the panel was told.

Workshop style also came in for criticism: less lecturing and more discussion, said students and organizers; fewer "guest star" appearances from eminent researchers who had no time to stay and explain of their times their findings. "I am very bored with very important people who can only spare half a day," said a British professor. "They come in, give a one-hour lecture which isn't particularly relevant, and then go again. I steer well clear of them."

A dispute arose over whether research or training should take priority. If Europe was to compete with America and Japan, should it be training postgraduates or trying to make scientific discoveries? Some panel members argued that one depended on the other.

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COMMONWEALTH



Learning in a cold climate . . .

Last year was the Festival of India in Britain; an attempt perhaps to forge new understandings of Indian life and culture, past and present.

How successful the venture was is not the concern here, but that members of one small sector of the Indian community in Britain, feel the British Government, if eager to maintain links with India, should ensure the continuity of their presence here.

Jim Callaghan, addressing the annual dinner of the YMCA Indian student hostel in Fitzroy Square, central London, at the close of last year, noted that he was probably speaking to future politicians, administrators and professional workers of India. The warden of the hostel noted that the number of students actually from India was shrinking.

Britain is still the leading host country for Commonwealth students, but for Indian students the difficulties of actually coming here are twofold: the financial situation back home and the cost of education here.

Most of them rely on individual state scholarships, or apply for the Commonwealth scholarship for funding.

Mr Niranjan Naik, assistant warden of the Indian hostel, said that most of the residents were either established educationalists and professionals sent by the Indian government, or Indian students with parents working in Africa or the Middle East, whose salaries enable them to send their children to British universities.

India of course has developed its own educational institutions and now has about 120 universities. For medical students who used to come to Britain to take their FRCS/MRCP postgraduate exams, these qualifications are no longer recognized in India.

"There is still a craze among Indian students to come to the West if they can," said 26-year-old Bidyut Chakrabarty, presently taking his Economics at the London School of Economics. "I cherished this from my childhood: call it a colonial hangover if you like. But facilities here are better and you can then apply for

a better job back in India."

Every year the government of Bengal offers three state scholarships in different subjects. Bidyut, a politics postgraduate from Calcutta, received one of them and is now taking his PhD in middle class Indian politics with special reference to Bengal.

Such as Bidyut are worried that the cost of British education is threatening the scholarship system. For Bengal it is becoming an increasingly expensive item.

A recent report, *Education Interchange: a Commonwealth Imperative*, by a special Commonwealth committee, has urged the British Government to change its methods of calculating full-cost fees, halving the charges as a result.

Once over the hurdle of scholarship selection, however, successful candidates find when they arrive here that apart from having to cope with a different way of life, a change in climate, new studies and language problems, an unhealthy proportion of their energies is spent remaining solvent.

Last June a group of Indian students on state scholarships sent a memorandum to an Indian education minister on a state visit to Britain, saying the scholarship funding was insufficient. They received no reply.

"The trouble is that in India this kind of money is about equivalent to a governor's salary," said Bidyut. "The government just cannot see the need for increasing the amount."

Last year Bidyut lived at the Indian YMCA. This year he is lucky enough to have self-catering university accommodation. He still overdraws consistently on his £230 monthly grant.

Every day he goes to India office library in London where he has access to files and papers he cannot easily obtain in India. The British, he says, took all important official documents with them when they withdrew in 1947.

Bidyut is determined to make the most of his time in England. Last year he took no social life at all, in order to prove to his supervisor at LSE that his work was up to the

mark.

When he was 18, his father, who is a schoolteacher, wanted to teach him Sanskrit, but though a keen scholar, Bidyut chose other studies. "Sanskrit makes character and politics makes a career. I chose a career," he said.

Having received a state scholarship he must go back to work in a Bengali higher education institute. But at least he is assured of a job and in any case he wants to go back.

"Although it is very cosmopolitan here and I meet lots of people, I don't like the society much. We Indians like to live with our families, and our friends become part of our family. When my father writes to me for example, he also sends wishes to my supervisor Dr Nossiter, although they have never met. We are like that. Social life here is very mechanical and divided."

For Priyambada Sarkar, a 25-year-old philosophy student, also on a Bengali state scholarship and living at the YMCA, the principal problem of studying in Britain are finances and the cold weather.

"The first month she was here she overdraw £50. 'Every time I spent 50p I thought it was 50 paiseas,' she said. 'I just cannot get used to the cost of living.' The cold she finds exhausting. 'I'm so sleepy all the time I just cannot concentrate on the work.'"

"A very small, welcoming woman, Priyambada, who is taking her doctorate in Ludwig Wittgenstein's philosophy of mind at King's College, is a student who came here in a career of secondary importance to her. She loves studying for its own sake. To exchange ideas with students in another country is an added pleasure for her.

In India more and more students are opting for science and technical subjects which carry better job prospects. Fewer scholarships are being offered in humanities.

phy. It is deeper and more religious than Western philosophy and much of it is written in Sanskrit. Anyway people won't study it because it doesn't lead to a job. But here I have found people who are interested, which is good. We can exchange ideas. I like that."

She found students drinking coffee, tea, smoking and falling asleep in lectures and classes disconcerting at first. In India such behaviour would be a sign of disrespect. Here it is accepted or tends to be ignored. Now she finds such instances amusing.

She is curious about the British way of life. She wants to enrich her own experiences as much as possible. She could not have come here without the scholarship.

She is sure, and finds it a sad prospect, that Bengal will be forced to reduce its number of scholarships because of the high cost of British education.

Although the Commonwealth scholarship funded and administered by the British Council is not so threatened, the likelihood of financial hardship for those Indians who might apply for it, makes it less of an exciting option than it might once have been.

The funding at £289 per month, is higher than Indian state scholarships, but the 60 students who qualify for it are older and with greater financial commitments.

At the YMCA where many of them come first to live, students are relatively lucky. In that food and lodging costs only £132 monthly. When they leave, they have to have to pay more than £200 for the same facilities.

One could argue that Indian students on such scholarships are no worse off than British students on government grants. But these students often feel completely isolated when they get here and have no extra money to fall back on, unless they are lucky enough to get additional cash funds. For many it means that, during what can be, up to a four-year

period, journeys home to India are infrequent or impossible. The sense of loneliness can be terrible.

Jayatumar Irkulla worked for the Oil and Natural Gas Commission in Andhra Pradesh. He wanted to take a geophysics doctorate in solid-state physics in relation to oil exploration and decided to apply for a Commonwealth scholarship to Britain where facilities for his subject were better.

He is 31 and married with two children. Although British Commonwealth scholarships make some provision for families he was not sure it would be enough. No more than £12 a month for a child seemed insufficient. He came to England without his family and is now studying at Imperial College and staying at Indian YMCA.

He felt the British Council could ease the situation considerably by paying the flight fare for his family which he said the Canadian government did in its Commonwealth scholarships.

"In India we are very attached to our families. My children are playing in my absence and I am very lonely," he said.

"I had a talk to a British Council representative in India and asked if the Canadian government gives more why can't the British. She said it was because they were poor. I don't think they are poor. It is just their policy. They want to give, but not the whole way."

He also felt they could pay for students to come over a month before term began to settle into accommodation, adapt to social life and improve their language without the pressure of study.

When he arrived at the start of the academic year, he could only understand about 20 per cent of what lecturers were saying, and found British reserve a barrier to improving on that. "I tried to talk to British students as a way of improving my English, but they won't talk to me, they just answer my questions and nothing more."

Elaine Williams

wealth and its peoples (particularly in schools) is invaluable. In my submission, what I have attempted to describe provides abundant evidence that there is still within the Commonwealth and among its peoples a community of scholarship and learning and a commitment to the mobility of staff, students and ideas, which can provide the impetus and create the framework for leading us out of our current preoccupation and prevailing provincialism.

Roy Marshall

The author is vice-chancellor of the University of Hull.



Three Indians following the "craze" to study in the West: Jayaturmar Irkulla (left), Priyambada Sarkar and Bidyut Chakrabarty.

Something to celebrate

Most universities in the Commonwealth have probably left 1982 behind them as a year they would love to forget; few perhaps will find much to relish in the prospect of 1983. Reduced funds, the running down of their main activities, the truncation of staff complements and student numbers, and the erosion of security of tenure have not only borne testimony to governments' apparent loss of confidence in the purpose and value of higher education (as universities themselves at any rate have seen and expressed them); combined, they have driven many institutions to the limits of discomfort, to the depths of demoralization, some perhaps even to the edge of the abyss.

If in many countries these were simply some of the disastrous consequences of economic recession, the universities might perhaps look for comfort in the hope of better things to come; what they see in reality are the outsiders of a greater massing attack on a front much broader than that of cost reduction at a time of public penury. They face, rather, an enforcement of change and an exercise of ever more direct control over what they do and even of how they do it.

These are not new questions. In the mid 1960s, for example, some of Shirley Williams' "13 points" were their forerunners, but latterly governments - and not only governments but the wider communities which they direct, and which universities are deemed to serve - have begun to close to look at their universities with an intensely critical eye, have challenged them to justify their curricula as well as prove their cost-effectiveness, to exhibit their relevance as well as their research, to justify not only their expenses but in some instances even their very existence.

The extractions of a system which government after government seeks apparently to eviscerate would hold, one might think, no favourable omen for an organization such as the Association of Commonwealth Universities, funded and governed by universities themselves as proof and embodiment of their internationality and as an expression of faith in the value of links of all kinds, across national boundaries. It would scarcely be surprising if the cost of maintaining these links, of supporting such an organization, should be questioned when primary activity is seriously threatened and where cuts in staff, in books, in premises and equipment, even in student numbers at a time of rising demand, have been inescapable.

Yet as the ACU enters its seventh anniversary year and prepares for its thirteenth major quinquennial congress at the University of Birmingham, its membership has never been higher, nor the activities and services provided for its members more comprehensive very much

more than when its forerunner, the "Universities Bureau of the British Empire" was first established in January 1913 to publish a Yearbook (first edition 1914 at 7s. 6d.) and gather and disseminate information among its members, on a budget from subscriptions of £1,500. Since then, it has survived two great wars (with the destruction of its office and records in 1940) and the aftermath of introspection which followed each of them.

Like the Commonwealth itself, it has ceased to be British, assuming since the grant of its Royal Charter in 1963 its new form of universities in free association based in freely associated and independent nations. In that year there were 117 members, 65 in the old "white" Commonwealth, 31 in India and the remaining 21 in the former British colonies or colonies whose independence was imminent. In 1983 there are 225 members, 67 from India alone and 63 from the developing third world countries of Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands.

Founded on an idea - and ideal - of cohesion among universities of the Commonwealth, the association has throughout its history pursued its objectives with little change in its main *raison d'être* but always in response to changing circumstances.

Its main contributions have been the spread of information about universities and their activities, the exchange of ideas between them, and the promotion of the maximum possible movement of academic staff and students from one country of the Commonwealth to another.

Of all the schemes the association services, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan is the most substantial. Inaugurated at the First Commonwealth Education Conference in 1959, the plan was articulated as a set of bilateral arrangements between Commonwealth countries expressed through scholarship agencies designated by the government of each of those countries. The awards are for people of high intellectual promise who will make a significant contribution to life in their own countries after intensive study overseas.

It was the ACU which was entrusted by the Commonwealth at large with the annual synoptic review of the plan; and the reviews made it quickly clear that the plan had acquired great prestige and was much valued for the quality of its practice and its tangible evidence of successful cooperation between Commonwealth countries. In the 1982 review of the plan, commissioned by the Commonwealth education ministers, through the Commonwealth Secretariat, recommendations are made for expansion of its scope and the resources devoted to it.

The ACU's overall role in relation to the plan (as agent of the Commonwealth Education Conference

and Commonwealth Secretariat) is complemented by the services it renders as a secretariat to the UK Parliament's Commonwealth Scholarship Commission, which has the double task of selecting and placing Commonwealth scholars and fellows for study at British universities and securing and shifting applications from British students for nomination to other countries awarding similar scholarships.

Over 23 years, nearly 7,000 Commonwealth scholars and fellows have come to study in Britain as a result of the commission's activities serviced by the ACU. They are by no means "average" students or fellows. Nominated by their own countries after locally organized competition and finally sieved in the final selection in the UK, the large majority have been from among the finest graduates produced abroad, whose performance in study and research and whose notable later careers have contributed to the high esteem in which the plan is regarded, many having attained high office in their own countries in government, business, the civil service, the professions, and not least in higher education itself.

Within those same years, some 550 British students have been sent to study in numerous other countries of the Commonwealth. A large "awarding" country like the UK therefore derives double benefit: from receiving many students of the highest quality to enhance the work of its own institutions; and from sending back the fruits of the new experience gained and a wider understanding of communities elsewhere.

The ACU's comprehensive network of institutions, the very wide ranging ramifications of its contacts, its high standing with agencies of individual governments and with divisions of the official Commonwealth Secretariat have also led to its being entrusted with the management of other schemes involving interchange of staff and students.

For many years senior administrative staff in universities have been competing for short-term travelling fellowships, supported by the Commonwealth Foundation, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Australian Universities International Development Programme and the Nuffield Foundation, which help them learn new techniques, and acquire new understanding from the study of administrative practice elsewhere in the Commonwealth.

A comparable scheme has been launched in 1983, with funds mainly provided in the form of a large and generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust. This will provide opportunities for travel and for the professional development of senior academic staff who have important roles in institutional management or development.

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First and foremost there was the inter-university Council for Higher Education Overseas (IUC). Although a grey out of the now discredited news of colonial development (the Education in the Colonies of 1945) and hence out of the now outmoded concept of "radical Commonwealth", the IUC was for the 35 years of its existence a powerful factor in Commonwealth university interchange and development. When it began, there were, regrettably, only two universities in Britain's dependent territories (including India). When in 1981, as a result of economic decline by Britain's much weakened economic position, it was absorbed by the British Council, there were 41 universities in the Commonwealth countries it served.

Next comes the British Council. In a widely held as opposed to Commonwealth context it would have to come first. The council dates from the mid-1930s and as the official face of British cultural relations abroad, was for a long time held to be a legitimate target for guerrilla attacks from the Beaverbrook newspapers, such as (pre-eminently) the Daily Express. "I tell you Pedro" ran the caption from a cartoon in the late 1940s, "The British Council is quite another."

The council has no doubt long way since those times, although some people still maintain that it has not moved quite enough. Nevertheless, since the council handled our relations with India and the old Commonwealth (including the United States) it must be regarded as taking a major share in the promotion of inter-Commonwealth links. Its expertise has chiefly centred on the selection of students who wish to come to Britain, and it has proved excellent as an agency for academic staff interchange. Its incursions into the administrative field (such as my own visit to Bangladesh) have been more restricted, and for a time it was not nearly so much at ease in this area as its junior partner.



Association of Commonwealth Universities

(eg deans, pro-vice chancellors, vice presidents, directors of institutes).

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation entrusts the ACU with the operation of a special scheme of academic fellowships which provide expressly for the interchange between academics in the developing Commonwealth of techniques, skills, experience and insights which bear directly upon national development. These schemes share a common principal objective, the pooling and broadening of knowledge and experience, the enhancement of skills of staff of member institutions in support of their own and their institution's development, all expressed as a function of activity generated by the university community itself.

These objectives have, of course, always informed the more traditional aspects of the association's work. Its staff recruitment programme, located at the London office, is inevitably a channel for radial movement from the UK, but the fact that universities, though they now recruit on a more modest scale than hitherto, exploit the appointments service with an even greater intensity than before, makes clear the esteem in which they hold it as an honest broker of academic advice, indeed, in its way, as an enterprise unique in its processes and in its independence of all save those of an appointing university.

Writing on the occasion of the ACU's Jubilee Congress in 1963, Eric Ashby remarked: "Like vegetation, adapted to alps and deserts, universities adapt to unfamiliar environments. Yet they remain unmistakably universities; notwithstanding local differences in emphasis, they pursue similar curricula; they aspire to remain on a 'gold standard' of scholarship; none of them could stand alone and their strength lies in the fact that they share a common tradition and they draw freely on one another's resources."

For many years senior administrative staff in universities have been competing for short-term travelling fellowships, supported by the Commonwealth Foundation, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Australian Universities International Development Programme and the Nuffield Foundation, which help them learn new techniques, and acquire new understanding from the study of administrative practice elsewhere in the Commonwealth.

A comparable scheme has been launched in 1983, with funds mainly provided in the form of a large and generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust. This will provide opportunities for travel and for the professional development of senior academic staff who have important roles in institutional management or development.

continued from page 11

Thirty years ago the Association of Commonwealth Universities, an indirect product of the Statute of Westminster, was founded in 1913 as a voluntary association of universities of the first Commonwealth ("White Commonwealth"). The radical concept was inevitably dominant in early years, but it changed rapidly after the Second World War, reflecting national policy and our waning national position in the world. It too has expanded rapidly, now having 251 member universities in 26 countries.

Last on the list (simply because it is the most recent in time) I would put the Conference of University Administrators (CUA), founded in 1961, and itself a product of the plurality and individuality of the British university system. Designed to redress the balance of those days now beyond recall when a university administrator in Leicester knew little of what was happening in Manchester or Southampton, the CUA has flourished and burgeoned to be an organization of international standing.

It is hard to avoid some chauvinistic conclusions. The British invented the Commonwealth, even though it has now outgrown them. The Commonwealth without Britain is no longer Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.



Association of Commonwealth Universities

of scholarship and friendship with groups of British academic colleagues, now boast qualifications acquired in the USA, Scandinavia, Russia, Holland, France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere.

The new challenges they face - of playing a major role in national development in producing specialized manpower, of re-orienting their courses of study to social and economic development needs, of developing their own centres of advanced study and research - are the challenges of becoming more self-reliant in both national and regional groupings while retaining the essential attributes of universities.

The obstacles are great: universities themselves face dwindling resources; the governments of their countries too often react to their own problems of managing their economies with the erection of barriers to the free trade of intellects and skills, where aid when given is too often inadequate and often tainted with the donors' criteria of worth. They are no greater, however, than those that have from time to time challenged the cohesion between the Commonwealth nations themselves. Is it purely idealistic to view strong inter-university links as having contributed nobly to the continuing strength of the Commonwealth itself?

Perhaps after all, in what might otherwise be a year of continuing gloom, the Commonwealth community of universities does have cause for some celebration. They are perhaps entitled to celebrate, at a time of change and retrenchment all round, not merely the survival of their society - itself a modest triumph - but the proliferation and extension of its activities.

Its continued existence is vital testimony to the fact that the association is founded not in cliché or rhetoric but upon practical service in which its member universities find practical value and lively stimulus. They will have the opportunity in its seventeenth anniversary to join together in their thirteenth Commonwealth Universities Congress, to reaffirm their commitment to the free trade of ideas, knowledge and people and their readiness to continue to contribute to the successful development of the Commonwealth itself.

Anastasios Christodoulou

The author is Secretary General of the Association of Commonwealth Universities.

ing indeed, one could almost say that the biennial conferences now being organized, of which the most recent was in Hongkong last September, mirror precisely the international scene what the earlier meetings of 20 years ago did for the administrators of the UK. Whilst they are not confined to the Commonwealth, there is a clearly emerging pattern in which the Commonwealth countries take the lead. I can think of no better, and for that matter, no cheaper expression of the "one world" so beloved of Edward Heath than these gatherings of professional people united by a common concept of the role and functions of a university and above all perhaps by a common cultural background and a common language.

Which brings me back to the personal experiences described in the biennial.

It is hard to avoid some chauvinistic conclusions. The British invented the Commonwealth, even though it has now outgrown them. The Commonwealth without Britain is no longer Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

James Walsh

The author is Registrar of the University of Leeds.

Karl Marx: the legacy

"On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep - but for ever."

With these words Engels began his speech at the graveside of Karl Marx in Highgate cemetery. He went on to summarize Marx's achievement: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history... But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created... Such was the man of science."

"But this was not even half the man... For Marx was above all a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat."

And Engels concluded: "His name will endure through the ages, and so will his work."

A hundred years later Marx's name certainly endures, and his work has had, and continues to have, an influence upon the world - both intellectual and political - far exceeding that of any other social thinker. But the influence is diffuse and varied. In the century since his death Marx's ideas have been continually revised and reformulated, and so too has the political practice which they helped to mould.

The scope for interpretation was vastly enlarged, moreover, by the incompleteness of Marx's work and the belated publication of many of his most important writings. Engels himself was astonished by the quantity of manuscripts and note-books that Marx had left behind, and much of the remainder of his own life was devoted to arranging, editing and publishing the second and third volumes of *Capital*, and to writing *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* on the basis of Marx's extensive comments on the American anthropologist, L. H. Morgan.

Even so, a great quantity of Marx's writings remained to be published: the *Theories of Surplus Value* (1905-10); *The German Ideology* and the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (in the early 1930s); the *Grundrisse* (in the early drafts of *Capital*, in 1953, a limited edition of 1939-41, having passed largely unnoticed). It is only in the last two decades that the whole body of Marx's work has become generally accessible; even in the 1960s an essay which presented the *Grundrisse* as a central text for the understanding of Marx's social theory could still plausibly bear the title "The Unknown Marx".

This has now all changed, and the progressive revelation of what Marx himself, in different periods of his life, had to say about his methods, results and projects, allows us to see more clearly how his theory was formed and in what respects it remained incomplete.

When Marx, as a young student, went to the University of Berlin in 1836, intellectual life there was dominated by Hegel's philosophy; but this had already taken diverse forms, one of which, represented by the group of "Young Hegelians", aimed to develop it as a critical theory of existing society.

What Marx derived from Hegelian thought was above all an image of history which portrayed it as an orderly, in some sense law-governed process, not an accidental succession of events, and second, regarded historical change as the product of opposed forces or "contradictions". But he diverged at once from Hegel, and equally from the Young Hegelians, in rejecting the view that human history is a history of ideas, of "self-consciousness", and that historical change is brought about by the conflict of ideas or by a general progress of reason.

The fate of Marxism

In a letter to his father in November 1837 Marx, recounting a turning-point in his life, announced that he had "hit upon seeking the idea in reality itself", but it was to be several years before he succeeded in this quest. Only in 1842/43 did Marx finally discover, in the working class, the real force in modern society which embodied the "idea": that is to say, which constituted the real ground upon which criticism of the existing social order could develop. Marx's abandonment of the Hegelian conception of history is summed up in his assertion that "not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history". This is the point of origin of Marx's whole theory.

This new conception, which he expressed in one form or another throughout his life, but recently in *The German Ideology*, and which provided, as he said, "the guiding thread" in his subsequent studies, depends upon a particular conception of human society. History follows the course it does because the human species and human society themselves have distinctive characteristics. Human beings, says Marx, "begin to



distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence" and hence their "actual material life". "This mode of production", he continues, "should not be regarded simply as the reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. It is already a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite mode of expressing their life, a definite mode of life."

The fundamental concept in this theory of society is therefore that of the social process of production, or the social labour process. The real existence of human beings in the world requires a social organization and regulation of the human interaction with nature, and distinct historical stages can be distinguished by the different forms which this social organization of production assumes. The original form, according to Marx, is communal regulation of the labour process in small-scale tribal societies; from this, however, class-divided societies develop in which the ownership of the principal means of production, establishes a dominant position and is able to control and direct the labour of others. The nature of this dominance impresses a particular character upon the whole of social life: in Marx's words, "It is always the direct relation between the owners of the conditions of production and the direct producers which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the entire social edifice."

By the mid-1840s Marx had formed a conception of the working class in modern society and had outlined a theory of history. At the same time he was extending his studies in another direction; namely, to an analysis in detail of the economic structure of society. In 1844, at the beginning of his partnership with Engels, and influenced by the latter's early economic writings, Marx plunged into a study of political economy and of the capitalist process of production.

The first fruits of this study were the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1844), where Marx undertook the reconstruction of philosophical concepts as economic or sociological concepts, in particular by substituting for Hegel's idea of "self-creation of humanity" as a spiritual process, the notion of self-creation through productive labour in the economic sense; and sketched in a preliminary way a fundamental characteristic of the capitalist mode of production - the alienation of the worker from both the instruments of production and the product - which he would later analyse in detail as the transformation of labour power itself into a commodity.

In the preface to these manuscripts Marx also outlined his whole vast project, namely, to proceed from a study of the capitalist economy to a critical study of "law, politics, morals, etc.", and finally "to present the interconnected whole, to show the interrelationships between the parts". But this was never accomplished. Not only the intrinsic difficulty of the economic analysis, but Marx's conditions of life, frustrated it. In February 1845 he was expelled from Paris, where he had been living since the end of 1843, and settled in Brussels; following the 1848 revolutions he was able to return first to Paris and then to Cologne, until in August 1849 he began his final "long night of exile" in London. For the next decade and a half the Marx family lived in great poverty, alleviated only by financial help from Engels and by Marx's modest earnings from the journalism in which he engaged throughout the 1850s.

Marx greatly resented the inroads which this journalistic activity made upon the time available for his scientific work, and he was under continual strain from the uncertainty of his income; as he remarked bitterly to Engels in 1859, when he had finally succeeded in completing his first major economic work (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*): "I do not think anyone has ever written about money who was so lacking in it. Most of the authors who have dealt with it lived on good terms with the subject of their research."

In the early 1860s, however, Marx became more optimistic about the progress of his economic analysis; very soon, he kept assuring Engels, he would have finished with this "economic muck", and would be able to turn his attention to more interesting questions. But this was not to be. In the event Marx was unable to complete even his analysis of the capitalist mode of production; still less could he embark upon a systematic presentation of "the interconnected whole" of capitalist society, or fill out his conception of history with detailed historical studies.

What the later Marxists inherited from Marx was, therefore, essentially a broad scheme of historical explanation and a profound, though incomplete, analysis of the capitalist economy. Today in the century year of Marx's death, it is appropriate to consider what has been made of this legacy, and what is the present state of Marxist studies.

When Engels, in 1883, compared Marx's theory with that of Darwin, the comparison was apt in one respect at least: both Marx and Darwin formulated a general theory which was intended to explain a specific, though very broad, process of change. But the subsequent development of their theories has been very different. Darwin's theory, though still contested to some extent, has received increasing confirmation from modern research, and in particular from the growth of knowledge advanced in genetics. As Professor Maynard Smith has written, Darwin's theory is "the main unifying idea in biology".

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generally, which may indeed seem to lack any unifying idea at all. Whether Marxism can aspire to such a role depends upon how far it is able to resolve difficulties which have emerged in the course of its own development, and with the growth of social and historical knowledge. The first question to be considered is its scope and limits as a theory of history. Lawrence Stone, in an essay entitled "The revival of narrative", published a few years ago in *Past and Present*, distinguished between narrative history and "structural history", the former he argued being descriptive rather than analytical, its central focus in man and circumstances. It therefore leads with the particular and specific rather than the collective and statistical.

This distinction itself is closely related to the one made by the Annales school of French historians, strongly influenced by Marxism, between the "history of event" and the "history of the long term" (or structural history). It is evident that the object of Marx's theory is the history of the long term, although Marx himself also wrote narrative history. What is important is the distinction made between different levels of historical inquiry, and in Marx's case the siting of narrative history in the context of long term tendencies. But what is the "long term"? For Marx, clearly, it is the period during which a particular form or structure of society persists, defining a distinct stage of social development. Leaving aside the question of how the different forms of society are themselves defined, we have to consider, in the theory of history, how the transition from one form to another takes place; first, to use Marx's term, what is the "driving force" of history, and second, what are the specific causes that bring about the dissolution of a particular form of society and the emergence of a new form?

With regard to such questions Marx's legacy was both incomplete and ambiguous, and subsequent Marxist research is far from having resolved all the difficulties. Thus, if we ask what caused the dissolution of primitive communal society (which

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class relations, the growth of technology, demographic changes.

Such investigations of particular transitions are clearly guided by, and have to be related to, Marx's general theory of the "driving force" of development; and here another disputed issue appears. Marx formulated his basic conception in two different ways: historical change results from a contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production (in the *Preface* of 1859); or, "At a certain stage of the development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production... Then occurs a period of social revolution"; or (6) from struggle between classes.

Of course, these two formulations are not antithetical. Nevertheless, through an emphasis upon one or the other, different conceptions of the historical process can develop, as they did develop in later Marxist thought. On one side, the instruments of labour (that is, technology) may be seen as strictly determining a particular division of labour, property relations and class relations. In that case technology becomes the prime mover.

Marx himself set out this kind of view in a passage in the *Preface to Philosophy* (1847): "With the acquisition of new forces of production human beings change their mode of production... and along with this they change all their social relationships. The hand mill gives rise to society with feudal lords, the steam mill to a society with industrial capitalists."

Elsewhere, however, Marx attributes prime importance to class struggles and the development of class consciousness, admittedly in the context of a particular mode of production, but not wholly determined by technological conditions. In other words, classes and class conflicts assume a certain independence. This view of historical change is particularly evident in Marx's treatment of the transition from capitalism to socialism, where there is scarcely any reference to the influence of technological changes and the emphasis is almost entirely upon the conscious political struggle to create a new society. Again, however, this interpretation needs to be qualified in the light of Marx's comments in the *Grundrisse* on the growing role of science in production.

The fact is that Marx never elaborated his theory of history in a systematic and rigorous form, and later Marxists have also not succeeded in doing so. In a way that is generally accepted, some have emphasized the above all the dynamic role of the productive forces, and have interpreted the decline of capitalism, for example, as a process of more or less inevitable economic breakdown.

Others, among them Lenin, have rejected this view as "economistic" and "deterministic", and have attributed much greater importance to the conscious actions of classes and revolutionary parties; but their version of Marxism is in turn open to criticism, as tending to restore a pre-Marxian conception of historical change as the outcome, primarily, of consciousness and will.

Marx himself, in his later writings, did not make any sweeping claims for his theory of history, and always insisted upon the need to study particular cases. Similarly, Engels, notwithstanding his declaration in 1883 that Marx had discovered the "law of development of human history", later came to adopt a more modest and qualified view; in a letter of 1890 criticizing the younger generation of self-styled "Marxists" he wrote that "our conception of history is above all a guide to study, not a lever for speculative construction in the Hegelian manner. The whole of history must be studied afresh..."

In the same letter Engels goes on to say that "the conditions of existence of the different social formations must be investigated in detail" before we attempt to derive from them the political, philosophical, etc. outlooks (ie ideologies) which correspond with their basic structure. That

is to say that just as in considering Marx's theory of history we have to attend to the theoretical and empirical problems raised by his conception of a "prime mover", so in assessing his theory of society we have to look at the problems, and the diverse interpretations, that have arisen in connection with his conception of a "prime element" in the constitution of different forms of society.

Not only does this raise questions similar to those concerning the theory of history, but it is crucial in the formation of that theory itself. For if the different forms of human society are to be ordered in a historical sequence those forms must first be clearly and precisely differentiated; and this is what Marx set out to do by positing several distinct modes of production, which determine (in some sense) specific forms of society, including forms of the state and of intellectual and cultural life. But Marx himself, as I have indicated, only investigated in detail one type of society - Western capitalism - and then only its mode of production. It was left to later Marxists to study other social formations, and to develop further Marx's analysis of capitalism.

That analysis itself continues to raise the most fundamental issues. Marx's aim was not simply, as Engels claimed, to formulate the "law of motion" of capitalist society, but rather to reveal the underlying structure which produced this movement as its effect: to construct a model, in conformity with the conception of society presented in abstract and general terms in his earlier writings, which would show in detail how the economic basis of society - its mode of production - determines the superstructure - the sphere of politics and culture.

Marx did not complete his model, and in many scattered texts he introduced qualifications of this apparent strict determinism. It was Engels, who first confronted the problem of economic determinism directly, and in letters of the 1890s, criticizing some of the "amazing rubbish" emanating from Marx's followers in Germany, he introduced the idea that economy is only an "ultimately determining" factor, while "the various elements of the superstructure" - political forms of the class struggle, judicial forms, philosophical theories, and religious views - also exercise their influence upon the course of history.

But this notion of an "ultimate determination" or "determination in the last instance" by the economy has never seemed satisfactory to critics of Marxism, or even to some Marxists, although it has continually reappeared in later formulations of Marxist theory. Its principal defects are an intolerable vagueness - what precisely is the "last instance", and what precise degree of independence do the non-economic elements of social life have? - and the general difficulty of establishing any one correspondence between economic circumstances and other social practices or conditions.

For this reason, recent Marxist thought has moved away from Engels' formulation, and from any form of determinism which requires the production of specific effects by specific causes, towards a conception of determinism as establishing tendencies or setting limits. This perhaps provides a more satisfactory framework for analysing some particular issues that Marxists have had to confront in their studies of the development of capitalism in the twentieth century.

What significance does the growth of the middle classes have for Marx and Engels' contention in the *Communist Manifesto* that bourgeois society is increasingly dividing into two great classes?

How is the growing power of the state, and its greatly enhanced role in the regulation of the economy to be understood, and is it the case, as some Marxists have argued, that the rise of mass parties (of which Marx had no experience) makes possible the emergence of autonomous political power, in the form of the totalitarian state?

Such questions are at the heart of present-day Marxist debates, and the

answers that are proffered, even the ways in which the questions are posed, are extraordinarily diverse. This is not to say that a century of Marxist thought is ending merely in uncertainty and confusion, or that, as Kolakowski has suggested in his encyclopaedic survey of Marxism, everything of value in it has already been largely absorbed into the established social sciences, so that as an independent explanatory system it is dead.

The magnitude of Marx's achievement and the prodigious range and power of his thought are only now beginning to be fully recognized. No other theoretical scheme in the social sciences has equalled, or even approached Marxism in its capacity to stimulate thought and research in so many different fields of inquiry and to integrate them in a systematic conception of social life as a whole.

If we accept even the minimal possibility of there being some regularities in human society and history which is the business of the social sciences to comprehend, then Marx's theory stands out as the major attempt so far to achieve such a comprehension and, in the absence of any superior theory, I remain a Marxist in social science.

Tom Bottomore

The author is professor of sociology at the University of Sussex. His article is based on a lecture on Marx given by the university's Centre on Continuing Education in its "Great Centuries" series.

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Khrushchev lays a wreath at Marx's grave in Highgate, London

Crisis in capitalism, crisis in Marxism

At Marx's graveside on March 17 1883, Engels paid tribute to his dead partner's two great scientific discoveries. These were, he said, the law of evolution of human history, and the special law of motion of capitalist production. On hearing the latter, several bourgeois opponents were quick to acknowledge Marx's prodigious intellect and theoretical fecundity. Others were hostile and dismissive. A century later, Marx and the tradition he inaugurated still occupy a unique place in critical thinking, and this remarkable resilience is a fact which will again divide defenders and critics. Like capitalism itself, Marx's work continues to rumble, vibrate, and generate the heat to fuel both political movements and doctrinal dissertations.

But Engels went on to say that Marx the man of science was "above all a revolutionary" and it is the immersion of the intellectual achievement in a political project which is most distinctive about Marxism. As most distinctive components, the theory of value or the materialist conception of history have relentlessly been pulled out, turned around, and diluted, and original defects, corrosion, and imminent obsolescence. The models of base and superstructure, or the camera obscura, have been deconstructed and refashioned along smarter lines. The dialectic between cause and effect, logic and history, has oscillated from vulgar reductionism to idealist equivalence and back. And these theoretical issues are alive enough to generate novel reformulations or refutations. Yet the driving force of Marx's work is the unity it proposes between social theory and emancipatory socialist politics. For all the scholarly apparatus constructed around the Marx legacy, it is that aspiration that marks the area of significant debate.

Two related sets of problems confront any assessment of the vitality of today's Marxism. One is the internal coherence and political resonance (economic theory, political analysis, historical research, etc.) the classical Marxist extent to which the current tradition can weather the changes in evaluation implied in the panorama (fortunately) not possible here. Instead I will consider historical materialism as a suitable illustration of the state of the art in Marxist theory. After all, the critique of capitalism forms part of a larger drama in Marx's outlook, and the material-

ist conception of history has over the years been more readily accessible to popular generalization than Marxian economics. (Interestingly, the contemporary economist, John Roemer, constructs his high technical and original Marxist revisions under the banner of some fairly crude Marxist intuitions about class struggle and historical progress.)

In fact, there is a sharp opposition between the notions of historical progress and class struggle, both in the literature and in political discourse. The struggle perspective is associated with the view that social

any fatalistic sense - openly espoused. But though class struggles are important mediators of historically progressive outcomes, they are logically derivative. The slogan derived from the *Communist Manifesto*, and repeated by empirical and structuralist Marxists alike, that class struggle is the motor of history, would have to be abandoned. These opposed sketches, and the clarity of their representatives' statements, currently define the field, but they do not exhaust it. Fundamentalists persuasively rescue notions of functional explanation and evolution in social theory (out of vogue for some time), but their theses operate at too high a level of abstraction readily to connect with the concrete business of politics and historiography. This qualitative gap ensures that the common herbs directed against intrusive Marxist metaphysics will sometimes find their target. The activists, for their parts, exaggerate the depth and breadth of class struggle. Moreover, the open-ended variety of Marxism seems to be a dubious empiricism in the pejorative sense - that is, too ready to give up the search for structural explanation for the safety of the contingent.

A suitable synthesis within historical materialism thus seems not only desirable, but truer to the spirit of Marx's enterprise, if not always to its necessity. In this view (one expounded of which is E. P. Thompson), emphasis is placed on mobilization and moral agency, and Marxist historiography is expressed in empirical methodology rather than meta-theoretical historical sweeps. "Class struggle" here is a general term for the acceptance of scientific validity. It should accept the real effects and significance of short-term interests, beliefs, and human aspirations, while holding on to a notion of structural causality or determination. And it should provide a number of parameters for historically specific class and social politics without underestimating the distance between analytic generalizations and political strategy.

This route finds assistance in scientific realist theories of knowledge, rescues something from both Lenin and Althusser, and pays close attention to one of its most notable representatives, Antonio Gramsci. However, as someone committed to this sort of approach, I have to say that I know of no theorization which succeeds in dissolving the various tensions which have been in play since the proliferation of Marxisms in the 1890s, and which find condensed expression in the work of the founder

himself. In practical terms, too, the centrist arguments are unlikely to offer much by way of unambiguous directives for specific campaigns of the moment. In sum, the quality of argument and research in historical materialism testifies to a vibrant intellectual tradition, academic in part, certainly, but in the whole respectful of the political imperatives I described earlier. In addition, such dilemmas as Marxists face are typical of modern cultural thought. So the fact that they are consciously convened in Marxism may be another reason for its perennial attraction. But the presence of tensions between, for example, the primacy of production and the relative autonomy of different social forms, or between the claims to science and the clearly practical needs governing theoretical elaborations, cannot be denied. Whether they are considered the natural dead-end of the Marxist journey or the basis for constructive development is not, in the last instance, dependent on theoretical questions alone, but on the political stance of the beholder.

One recent influential option has been to dislocate the basis of the classical Marxist tenets from socialist discourse. Those who advocate this option regard as misguided the whole goal of providing a magical objective unity of theory and practice. Marxism, in this sense, is said to be but a variant of the wider philosophical culture of the West, bound up in the illusory search for essential, truth-bearing concepts which can be materialized in practical conduct. This rationalism, it is claimed, obscures the fact that it is political discourse, not reality, which governs what is theoretically relevant. Discourses are multiple and changing forms of calculative and linguistic practices. Some who embrace this option (for instance Paul Hirst) do not spurn the label Marxist, since Marx and Lenin themselves ruthlessly stripped away social proposals dressed up as sovereign reason. This angle of critique confirms the presence within modern Marxism of interesting heterodoxy. Its main drawback is that discourse theory must abandon any notion of things or truths external to particular discourses, to which discourse approximates. And it is not clear (to me at least) that political or theoretical sense can be produced without these or surrogate terms.

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BOOKS

History

from below

The World of the Muggletonians
by Christopher Hill, Barry Reay, and
William Lamont
Temple Smith, £12.50
ISBN 0 85117 226 1

The title of this volume recalls earlier books by A. L. Morton (*The World of the Rotters*) and Christopher Hill (*The World turned upside down*), and its content explores the same, or at least adjacent, territory. All three address themselves to the noisy, wild, often blasphemous confusion of religious orthodoxy which characterized the turbulent experience of the 1640s and 1650s and which Thomas Edwards documented with fascinated loathing in *Gangraena*.

Muggletonianism, it should be said at once, was certainly not the most extreme of the competing religious possibilities that the breakdown of government and censorship in the English Revolution slowed into print. Nor was it conspicuous in terms of numerical strength; even at the height of the movement its adherents never numbered more than a few hundred. And as compared to the religious, social and sexual radicalism of the Ranters Muggletonians often appear low-key, self-effacing, mild mannered conservatives. They did not proselytize and avoided confrontation with the law. So why bother about the Muggletonians — and does this book convince us that we should?

Christopher Hill rehearses one justification that he has offered many times before: "The fact that radical ideas could break through and flourish in what before 1640 and after 1660 appears a stable, hierarchical and deferential society may help us to understand that society better, to be less superficial in our acceptance of its self-estimate... The Muggletonians belong to the cultural underworld of the middling and lower classes rather than to the intellectual history of their time. As such, they form part of the evidence that has to be incorporated into any study of the common people in seventeenth-century England."

Barry Reay's chapter on Lawrence Clarkson advances basically the same justification, arguing that his subject reveals something of "the potential of popular ideology and activity," "a glimpse at the English Revolution from below." Few historians today would dispute the value and importance of that perspective.

To this general, "history from below" justification one could add that the religious and organizational peculiarities of the Muggletonians have a fascination of their own. We are presented here with their extraordinary theology — their central belief that John Reeve and Ludovick Muggleton were the Two Last Witnesses of the Spirit announced in the Book of Revelation, their curious notions of a man-sized God, of Hell and the devil, of astronomy, and rounded out that they, like other sectarians of the period, placed the Spirit above the Scriptures. "The Bible is full of inconsistencies and is in any case incomplete; God will reveal further secrets by direct inspiration." We are provided, too, with valuable insights into the importance (social as well as religious) of their leaders' predilection for cursing, the informality of their organization, their peculiar brand of "intellectual anti-intellectualism", and offered some surprising comparisons, for example between Muggletonian and Quakerism. Another strange feature of this book is that it offers us two Christopher Hills — the one the famous modern historian and the other a hoolier of Maidstone, one of the holier members of the Muggletonian sect.

But above all, perhaps, Muggletonianism is worth bothering about because of its longevity. The faith survived its original immediacy and retained adherents — mainly artisans — in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. E. P. Thompson has previously

drawn attention to Blake's links with Muggletonianism. (Other, more pressing contemporary commitments prevented him from contributing to this volume). The likelihood is that the last survivor of the sect died as recently as 1979.

An added reason for concerning ourselves with the Muggletonians is that we are now better equipped to study them than ever before due to the chance rediscovery of their archive in the 1970s. (The manuscripts are now safely housed in the British Library while the surviving accumulation of nineteenth-century reprints of their tracts is currently being offered for sale by an enterprising antiquarian bookseller in York). Much is made of these new sources in the book's introduction and claims made for their importance for a reevaluation of the Muggletonian tradition. A close reading of the

book, however, shows that they have been extensively used in only one of the chapters (William Lamont's appendix essay on "Ludovick Muggleton and Immediate Notice"). In a number of important respects, it is a social appeal, for instance, the picture of Muggletonianism which this book presents is remarkably impressionistic.

In this, as in other respects, the book lacks unity and uniformity. Its component chapters were written at different times for different purposes. The authors quote from different editions of Muggletonian writings. One of them modernizes spellings and capitalization in quotations from seventeenth-century texts; the others do not. There is much repetition, and at times obvious disagreement among the contributors. In particular Hill's claims for the importance of Reeve as the "real founder

of the sect" are hard to reconcile with Lamont's persuasive insistence on Muggleton's "ideological victory" over him. "We have made no attempt to iron out our disagreements, thinking it better to leave this to later researchers in the field," the preface frankly tells us. It will not do. The thing that is most obviously missing from this book is a firm cultural hand. If the Muggletonians are really worth bothering about then the authors ought to have given more thought to the production of their book. As it is its component parts — all of them individually worthy and one of outstanding merit — do not add up to a convincing whole.

R. C. Richardson

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Southern culture

All Clever Men, Was Make Their Way: critical discourse in the Old South
edited and introduced by Michael O'Brien
University of Arkansas Press, £29.65
ISBN 0 938626 09 4

The received wisdom about the intellectual life of the American South in the decades before the Civil War is that it was crippled by two related obsessions: the defence of slavery and the assertion of the rights of states against the federal government.

The champion of southern thought in this period was a man who combined both into a gothic cathedral of constitutional compromise: John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. In most histories Calhoun is an isolated landmark in almost a century of irrationality between the great southern contributors to revolutionary republicanism (of whom Thomas Jefferson is the model) and the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century literary artists of the New South. There has been little dissent from the chilling conclusion of W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* (1941) that what the Old South exhibited was "not a true culture at all."

Not many strongly held opinions in American historiography escape the revisionists for ever. But it is interesting how long it has taken for a younger generation (led by Michael O'Brien and Drew Faust) to accept the challenge of the late Clement Eaton and advance a southern intellectual history with new methods and new concerns. O'Brien has already written intelligently and persuasively on the peculiar and "excluding" manner in which twentieth-century southern writers have probed and refined their heritage. This new anthology is based squarely on a connected argument.

The claim is that once the delicate problems of access to a culture where authors wrote little for publication (and that often anonymously in journals of limited circulation and short life) have been overcome, five main "props" of conventional wisdom will have been shown to have slipped. Southern intellectual life was not in fact "doomed to anachronism by isolation, of plantation life, by slavery, fundamentalism, intolerance, or ignorance of recent European thought. Instead, the Old South was a different and evolving version of what an American modernity might have come to look like."

This case rests on 14 items published between 1829 and 1836 (all but three in regional journals). Some are successful demonstrations of southern learning, taste and contemporary awareness like Jesse Burton Harrison's long essay, nominally a review of MacIntosh's history of the 1688 Revolution, in the *Southern Review* in 1832. In a remarkably engaged piece of comparative cultural criticism he anticipates the northern enthusiasm for German scholarship, neatly exposes American cultural dependence on England, and sets a Periclean ideal for his region and the nation. Another impressive discovery, at the other end of the period, is

an anti-feminist broadside by Louisa Sussnah McCorr in the *Southern Quarterly Review* of 1852. This tense, almost tortured advocacy of female moral superiority provides a salutary companion with the more liberal, urbane and famous testimony of her friend Mary Chesnut.

Other entries are less compelling. They include a piously orthodox (and undervalued) oration by the President of William and Mary on "Republicanism and Literature," an undistinguished, even evasive eulogy on a stalwart of South Carolina College; a naively youthful and repetitive reflection by the editor of Jefferson on the social structure of Virginia; and a passage of purple prose on the involvement of the eighteenth-century financier John Law in the early history of Louisiana. The surprises which O'Brien presents come not from the better-known authors of these pieces but generally from those contributors who died young and had had personal contact with the northern states and/or Europe.

It is not to say that he overstates this anthology's case; rather that O'Brien concedes that he has been selective (in ignoring the classic pro-slavery statements, already anthologized by Faust, and focusing geographically on the seaboard communities of the Upper South). He also acknowledges his habit of dense annotation, which frequently adds to the antiquarian feel of much of the material. However, through his scholarship and enthusiasm we have an effective set of preliminary signposts for a neglected area of American cultural history.

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Slavic slavery

Slavery in Russia, 1480-1725
by Richard Hailie
University of Chicago Press, £31.50
ISBN 0 226 32647 0

While there have been many publications on all kinds of slavery in recent years, there has been virtually nothing on the varieties of the institution to be found in the slave peoples to whom the word "slavery" originally referred. True, the cognate form of bondage known as "serfdom" and its development in Western Europe and Eastern Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century has received from Professor Hailie, who is a leading expert on the subject, a detailed and excellent study. *Slavery in Russia, 1480-1725* is a study of the institution in its own right, and is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

Not that this is slavery in either of its more familiar modes: in ancient Rome or in the modern Atlantic world. And so, after a brief historical introduction, the book is largely devoted to a problem that has puzzled scholars for a long time: the question of the definition of the institution.

under two headings, law and sociology. In impressive detail, we are told about the legal varieties of Muscovite slavery; legal definitions of slave-owners and slaves; family law; legal relations between masters and slaves, slaves and strangers, and between slaveowners themselves. The first part of the book concludes with an examination of procedure and evidence as far as it involved slaves, and then a description of government slavery offices and officials.

The second part is if anything even more formidable than the first, accompanied as it is by a wealth of computerized tables and maps. The reader is almost obliged to believe that no individual slave has been left untouched in the effort to achieve the collective sociology. And in such passages as his description of their names, the author seems to bring at least some of the slaves nearly to life: Bull, Watmolen, Vexation and Spite are a selection from one category only. By the last of the more than 750 pages, nobody could be in any serious doubt about the image and origins of Russian slavery, or about its social, ethnic and geographical complexion. The nature of the slave system, the occupations involved and the slave-owners are equally well scrutinized. Hailie turns in conclusion to an assessment of the importance of slavery in Russia.

Much of the information and interpretation in this book is extremely stimulating and persuasive. A considerable gap is now only filled. On the other hand, at least some of the context of the main thrust of the book is less than satisfying and avon positively misleading. How many of Hailie's colleagues will find acceptable the bald declaration on the very first page that in 1480, Moscow's "focus of attention" shifted to Italy? True, Ivan III invited in some Italian architects to help him restore and improve the Kremlin and some other buildings of the *quattrocento* may have penetrated to now-built walls, but there was far less than enough influence to constitute a shift in the focus of attention of a whole civilization.

Similarly, remote as many of his readers will be from the University of Chicago, they will not find it easy to agree with Hailie's suggestion that "the late-twentieth-century dependent America welfare recipient is perhaps the most suitable Muscovite equivalent". Possibly, at least a few of them will think that the more immediate setting of Russian slavery might have helped us to understand the institution more fully. There are nearly twenty references to the system of bondage to be found in the Danish Virgin Islands, while a basic concept often used by the Soviet historians from whom the book takes much of its data (there are almost no unpublished archival sources) is dealt with in a single sentence: "Asian despotism" may have been, sometimes used as a slogan rather than a tool of explanation, but abuse of a term does not by itself constitute a sufficient cause for summary dismissal.

Finally, Hailie could have distinguished more precisely the relationship between the subject of his second book and that of his first, between Russian slavery and serfdom.

Paul Dukes

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The gutter press

The Literary Underground of the Old Regime
by Robert Darnton
Harvard University Press, £11.55
ISBN 0 674 53656 8

Robert Darnton is indeed a fashionable man. Some years ago he expounded the fulfilment of the historian's dream, that of discovering a valuable urliche which had lain undisturbed for centuries, and which was capable of shedding light upon some of the more intractable problems faced by historians of the Enlightenment.

The archive in question is that of the *Société typographique de Neuchâtel*, a Swiss publishing house established to provide those books demanded by the French eighteenth-century reading public and prohibited by its government. It is of course one thing to be fortunate but quite another to capitalize upon that good fortune so successfully as Darnton has done, regaling us with a series of reconstructions every bit as fascinating as the *chroniques sandalesques* which form part of his new material. Most of the sections of this latest work have already appeared in print, but it is useful and stimulating to have them collected in a single volume.

Some of his conclusions make particularly interesting reading. Though links between the great works of the *philosophes* and the coming of the French Revolution are as difficult to establish as say, the effects of television violence on the viewing public, we owe have some firm clues to assist us, thanks to Professor Darnton's researches. It is clear, for example, that a far more virulent establishment thrust was provided by those grub-street writers who represented their exclusion from the literary elite than by the *philosophes* themselves whose message, however radical, was delivered from within the comfort and security of the established world. In some cases the established writers were forced into compromise and self-betrayal which further sharpened their fierce sense of resentment.

We also learn from Darnton that there was no great merit in France for abstract philosophical works. The pure thought of the Enlightenment was too intoxicating for most readers, who preferred popular versions turned out by a mass of oow long forgotten minor literary merchants. Nor was this radical propaganda part of a revolutionary programme. There is evidence here to support recent historical judgments that the fall of the old regime in France tells us little or nothing about what was to follow. The nature of Grub Street's assault upon the old order was personal and destructive. It destroyed the aura surrounding the royal and aristocratic milieus who served it, and the poverty and violence of its abuse. The staid and obscure *libelles* of the gutter press, with their underlying moralistic condemnation of a society which had proved inaccessible to their authors, prepared the way for a new order. Voltaire and Rousseau may have provided more cerebral promptings but ideas remain powerless without an emotional response; Professor Darnton has identified for us the nature of that response.

The *Literary Underground of the Old Regime* leads us into a shadowy world of book smuggling, literary co-men, printing house rituals and police informers; of libels, pornography and satires, polemics and pornography. Beyond all this, towards a more shadowy readership, anxious to devour the strange meat prepared by the sub-literary elite. By following the road to and from Neuchâtel with Professor Darnton we come closer to one particular respect to understanding the events which followed 1789. In his "talk with the dead" as he puts it, he avows that sense of deep-seated outrage and hostility in which we recognize the true barbarism of the Revolution.

J.H. Shennan
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BOOKS

Informed choices

Teaching and Learning Languages
by Earl W. Stevick
Cambridge University Press, £7.95
ISBN 0 521 24818 3 and 28201 2

The title of Earl Stevick's new book is significant in of itself since the essential partnership between the teaching and learning processes has not always been acknowledged. Indeed it was not so long ago in the field of foreign language education that the teaching process received all of the attention. The assumption appeared to be that if teachers could but perfect teaching, then learning would inevitably follow. Students were therefore assigned a passive role and allowed little initiative.

Student passivity has been convincingly challenged in more recent times. These days students are seen as active partners in the language learning process, bringing with them not only cognitive capability but also other unique personal factors which have the potential to either impede or enhance their learning.

Thus, where once responsibility for the outcome of instruction was "the teachers", it is now shared. One result of this shift is that teachers can no longer rely on the familiar method which prevailed when learning was viewed as being subordinate to teaching. However, this shift has had positive consequences as well. For although the widely practised teacher-centred methodology offered teacher security, it demanded too much conformity. Teachers were just as much victims of methodological absolutism as those students for whom the method was unsuccessful.

Earl Stevick liberates both teachers and students from the trap of methodological absolutism. Stevick states explicitly that his book is not another "how-to-do-it" manual. In fact, it is significant that one rarely encounters the term "method" in his book at all. Instead, Stevick's book is about making choices based on one's experience. As he has demonstrated so often in the past, Stevick has an indefatigable faith that teachers will make the right ones: "Whatever you do, you will do it better if you do it of your own informed choices."

While there are thus no facile answers in this book, readers are not left to navigate for themselves in a valueless vacuum. Stevick draws upon his 35 years of experience as both a language learner and a language teacher to suggest three competencies to which teachers may help students strive. "Linguistic competence" has been the goal to which language teachers have directed their efforts all along. The achievement of linguistic competence means students will be able to produce accurately the target language. While this objective may seem obvious enough, it can easily be overlooked in the enthusiasm with which the field has embraced the second competence of which Stevick writes: "communicative competence". It is now generally recognized that being able to produce the target language forms accurately is not enough; students must also learn to use the forms correctly within a social situation before they can be called communicatively competent.

The last competence of which Stevick writes is very different from the other two and is first introduced to teachers in this book. "Personal competence" has to do with empowerment. Students who have personal competence will be able to share with teachers the making of "informed choices". The way students become informed is by being self-aware. Knowing how they learn best. When students have achieved personal competence, they embark on a course of action which facilitates their own learning.

Following this discussion of the three competencies, there are three chapters which provide teachers with additional information upon which to

base their choices. Stevick has dispensed with much of the jargon of the field presumably in the interest of making these ideas accessible to neophytes. While I am sympathetic to this attempt, I feel this often leads to unnecessary obfuscation. For instance, Stevick evokes an elaborate set of metaphors when dealing with the chapter on memory which appear to be more of an impediment to understanding than an aid.

Over one-half of the book (chapters 6-16) is devoted to a thorough description of techniques which concentrate on the speaking skills. Techniques range in breadth from how to help students memorize dialogues to how to encourage students to engage in conversation. There are two noteworthy aspects to this inventory of techniques.

First, Stevick describes not just what to do but also a way of carrying out the techniques. For example, he offers teachers tips on giving students non-judgmental feedback, on how to build in variety and on the role of silence in the lesson. He offers numerous options replete with phrases such as: "You may be able to..." and "If you want to..."

Second, Stevick's book is not just what to do but also a way of carrying out the techniques. For example, he offers teachers tips on giving students non-judgmental feedback, on how to build in variety and on the role of silence in the lesson. He offers numerous options replete with phrases such as: "You may be able to..." and "If you want to..."

The Court of Last Resort: mental illness and the law
by Carol A. B. Warren
University of Chicago Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 226 87388 9

Red tape wrapped round a head aptly illustrates on its cover this study of the legal aspects of mental illness, although its content has the feel of a highly stretched PhD thesis.

Carol Warren is a sociologist at the University of Southern California who (with multiple fundings) spent no less than seven years observing the proceedings of a special mental health court in what one may guess to be Los Angeles. The "Metropolitan Court" she has studied is equivalent to a British Mental Health Review Tribunal in hearing appeals against involuntary commitment, but it also deals with "other matters at the intersection of the mental health and criminal justice systems", including some narcotic and sexual offences. The relevant California law — known as LPS — requires judicial reviews of commitment orders, as well as the principle that psychiatric care should take place in the least restrictive setting possible. It is described here as an "uneasy truce" between libertarians who want to abolish involuntary hospitalization altogether, and mental health professionals who see compulsion as the lesser of the two evils.

Those opposing points of view are set out eloquently in chapters by Stephen Morris and Jack Zusman, which occupy the centre of the book as a kind of sandwich filling. Both are from the same university as the author and Morris is remarkably enough professor of psychiatry there without being a psychiatrist, or even a doctor — an achievement suggesting California's horse.

Morris believes there should be no compulsory hospitalization or treatment because "our social climate of liberty will be immeasurably increased; persons will be treated as dignified and autonomous human beings." This is proposed as the basis for care being available voluntarily to all in the community, but as Zusman points out in the opposing part of this heavyweight contest, such a solution is independent of the compulsion issue. Indeed, it could reasonably be argued that without this ultimate sanction, the comprehensive system which both claim to want could be seriously disrupted by a small minority of the mentally ill. Morris also fails to deal with the problem of people who are actively suicidal because of illness, yet cease to be so after compulsory treatment; the study described here showed in fact that people who were committed on such a basis were less likely than others to be socially disadvantaged.

In this connection, the author's own position is revealing. "When I entered Metropolitan Court, I believed as an article of faith that scientific methods in the courtroom were no better than the methods of the courts and lawyers. One

Thus, ever consistent, Stevick acts in an advisory capacity, leaving teachers to make the ultimate decisions for themselves.

The other noteworthy characteristic of the collection of techniques is they are truly eclectic. Stevick has assiduously avoided categorizing techniques by methods. Thus he is able to recommend both techniques usually associated with methods that have fallen into disfavour and also those associated with innovative methods that have yet to be widely adopted. By confining his recommendations to the techniques level, Stevick is able to be profoundly pragmatic without being encumbered by the politics which accompany alignment with a particular methodology.

Four of the five concluding chapters of the book deal with some basic concepts of the phonological and grammatical systems of language. Clearly teachers need to know the subject matter they are teaching as well as techniques for presenting it. This is Stevick's reason for including these chapters. The grammatical system, in particular, is treated parsimoniously, but Stevick acknowledges

scientific reasoning... that mental illness was merely a matter of the labelling of undesired behaviours and persons. I do not believe [so] now". Apart from anything else, this ought to focus analytical attention on the sociology she had been taught herself up to that point, and to lead to the question of how many more people were taught the same — perhaps not teaching it themselves without having had the same opportunity to test it against reality. It is noteworthy that as a clinician (who at least began as a clinician) those who take an extreme libertarian view on mental illness are lawyers, or others who have never had the responsibility of caring for patients. Contrary to the claims made here by Morris, Murray Levine's *The History and Politics of Community Mental Health* (Oxford University Press, 1982) showed that legalism had actually done little or nothing to improve the lot of the mentally ill in America.

In her endless observation of the proceedings of "Metropolitan Court" and its outside ramifications, Warren found many things to concern her: hearings were often perfunctory, staff ill-informed, and the petitioners mostly people on the margins of society. Yet, given the structural constraints within which the court made its decisions, she could not conclude that these were often wrong. She would like to reduce the impersonality of the process and would favour less participation by professionals of all kinds, so that common sense conceptions of mental illness could play a greater part in it. But any system for handling the mentally disordered will have the same characteristics as those of its society in general, and she regards the society observed here as marked overwhelmingly by alienation. This view would carry greater weight if the text showed more evidence of a perspective wider than that of late twentieth-century California.

There is, however, a growing body of scientific knowledge which American psychologists are accumulating from observations in court that is of unusual interest. For example, Dano and Wrightman conclude that jurors are more likely to convict, or suggest longer sentences for, defendants of lower moral character, and that defendants are treated more harshly when the victim is of high moral character. However, after four months there is dangerous unreliability indicating that subjects should not be asked to identify individuals they saw for only a short period more than four months previously. Surprisingly there was no interference by the interposition of the scrutiny of photographs between an incident and picking someone on an identity parade.

Having more than one suspect in any given identity parade seems to produce no advantages as the identification of one suspect does not trigger recognition of the second, and the researchers could find no clear effect of the absence of a suspect from the identification parade on the misidentification rate. Their final message is that the identification process is prone to error. "Yet policemen, lawyers, judges, and jurors sometimes find difficulty in accepting such demonstrations of our incompetence as observers and cling to the intuitive model of the eye as a camera faithfully recording every experience."

The research reviewed and reported in these two books indicates that it is possible for scientific study to illuminate this most hallowed of institutions, the court of law. What is reported now is an acceptance, by lawyers, of the scientist, not merely as an expert witness but also as an architect of the process by which greater justice is obtained.

John Gunn
John Gunn is professor of forensic psychiatry at the Institute of Psychiatry, London.

Champanie and Nagel have a stab at reviewing the information which is available about the psychology of judging but they quickly find that almost nothing is known on this sub-

ject that he offers here is only a beginning.

Overall, Stevick's new book does not have the vitality of his last two. The difference is due to the fact that when he wrote those, he was questioning; in this book he is reporting. Nevertheless, the style serves well the purpose for which it was intended.

Earl Stevick has a stature in the field rivaled by few. One cannot read this book without being reminded of why he is a consummate synthesizer. His book contains a wealth of information. But, perhaps even more importantly, he is a teacher advocate. This book was written by a practitioner for practitioners. It will be consulted for a long time, not just by novice teachers for whom it was written but also by the more experienced of us who share with Earl Stevick a belief that the most important part of education is people: what goes on within and among us.

Diane Larsen-Freeman

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Uneasy truce

The Court of Last Resort: mental illness and the law
by Carol A. B. Warren
University of Chicago Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 226 87388 9

Red tape wrapped round a head aptly illustrates on its cover this study of the legal aspects of mental illness, although its content has the feel of a highly stretched PhD thesis.

Carol Warren is a sociologist at the University of Southern California who (with multiple fundings) spent no less than seven years observing the proceedings of a special mental health court in what one may guess to be Los Angeles. The "Metropolitan Court" she has studied is equivalent to a British Mental Health Review Tribunal in hearing appeals against involuntary commitment, but it also deals with "other matters at the intersection of the mental health and criminal justice systems", including some narcotic and sexual offences. The relevant California law — known as LPS — requires judicial reviews of commitment orders, as well as the principle that psychiatric care should take place in the least restrictive setting possible. It is described here as an "uneasy truce" between libertarians who want to abolish involuntary hospitalization altogether, and mental health professionals who see compulsion as the lesser of the two evils.

Those opposing points of view are set out eloquently in chapters by Stephen Morris and Jack Zusman, which occupy the centre of the book as a kind of sandwich filling. Both are from the same university as the author and Morris is remarkably enough professor of psychiatry there without being a psychiatrist, or even a doctor — an achievement suggesting California's horse.

Morris believes there should be no compulsory hospitalization or treatment because "our social climate of liberty will be immeasurably increased; persons will be treated as dignified and autonomous human beings." This is proposed as the basis for care being available voluntarily to all in the community, but as Zusman points out in the opposing part of this heavyweight contest, such a solution is independent of the compulsion issue. Indeed, it could reasonably be argued that without this ultimate sanction, the comprehensive system which both claim to want could be seriously disrupted by a small minority of the mentally ill. Morris also fails to deal with the problem of people who are actively suicidal because of illness, yet cease to be so after compulsory treatment; the study described here showed in fact that people who were committed on such a basis were less likely than others to be socially disadvantaged.

In this connection, the author's own position is revealing. "When I entered Metropolitan Court, I believed as an article of faith that scientific methods in the courtroom were no better than the methods of the courts and lawyers. One

does not have to be very sophisticated in the understanding of human nature to realize the probable reason for the defensiveness, one simply has to note the steady flow of emotional and sometimes completely erroneous decisions made by courts.

The *Psychology of the Courtroom* is a multi-author volume from a number of psychologists working in the United States. They review the growing body of research on such diverse topics as jury selection, the ways in which defendants and victims influence jury decisions, the reliability of eye-witness testimony, the factors affecting the assessment of witness credibility, jury deliberations, and the psychology of judging. The book is intended to be of value to social scientists interested in the psychology of the courtroom, to advanced undergraduates, graduates students in the social sciences, lawyers and judges, and as a text for law students. It deals with some of the courtroom and jury selection (for example, that on jury selection) is of only marginal interest to British readers.

There is, however, a growing body of scientific knowledge which American psychologists are accumulating from observations in court that is of unusual interest. For example, Dano and Wrightman conclude that jurors are more likely to convict, or suggest longer sentences for, defendants of lower moral character, and that defendants are treated more harshly when the victim is of high moral character. However, after four months there is dangerous unreliability indicating that subjects should not be asked to identify individuals they saw for only a short period more than four months previously. Surprisingly there was no interference by the interposition of the scrutiny of photographs between an incident and picking someone on an identity parade.

Having more than one suspect in any given identity parade seems to produce no advantages as the identification of one suspect does not trigger recognition of the second, and the researchers could find no clear effect of the absence of a suspect from the identification parade on the misidentification rate. Their final message is that the identification process is prone to error. "Yet policemen, lawyers, judges, and jurors sometimes find difficulty in accepting such demonstrations of our incompetence as observers and cling to the intuitive model of the eye as a camera faithfully recording every experience."

The research reviewed and reported in these two books indicates that it is possible for scientific study to illuminate this most hallowed of institutions, the court of law. What is reported now is an acceptance, by lawyers, of the scientist, not merely as an expert witness but also as an architect of the process by which greater justice is obtained.

John Gunn
John Gunn is professor of forensic psychiatry at the Institute of Psychiatry, London.

Champanie and Nagel have a stab at reviewing the information which is available about the psychology of judging but they quickly find that almost nothing is known on this sub-

ject that he offers here is only a beginning.

Overall, Stevick's new book does not have the vitality of his last two. The difference is due to the fact that when he wrote those, he was questioning; in this book he is reporting. Nevertheless, the style serves well the purpose for which it was intended.

Earl Stevick has a stature in the field rivaled by few. One cannot read this book without being reminded of why he is a consummate synthesizer. His book contains a wealth of information. But, perhaps even more importantly, he is a teacher advocate. This book was written by a practitioner for practitioners. It will be consulted for a long time, not just by novice teachers for whom it was written but also by the more experienced of us who share with Earl Stevick a belief that the most important part of education is people: what goes on within and among us.

Diane Larsen-Freeman
Diane Larsen-Freeman is professor of applied linguistics at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont.

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BOOKS

Scientific hygiene

Death is a Social Disease: public health and political economy in early industrial France
by William Coleman
University of Wisconsin Press, £26.25
ISBN 0 299 08950 9

One of the triumphs of the early nineteenth century was the public health movement. In England, we are most familiar with the surveys of Farr, Chadwick and Simon, but techniques developed earlier and with greater sophistication in France, as this work sets out to show.

In this original and lucid book Professor Coleman uses as a window on to his subject the career of Louis René Villermé. Though little known in the English-speaking world, Villermé was the doyen of sanitary and hygiene experts in post-Restoration France, his forte being the gathering, tabulation and analysis of socio-medical data. Professor Coleman has not written a conventional biography; there is little here of Villermé's day-to-day personal life. Rather he has aimed to explain and evaluate Villermé's doctrines, and those of his fellow medical hygienists, within the context of contemporary socio-economic change: soaring population, the early stages of the Industrial Revolution in France, the origins of the factory system, and the flood tides of urban squalor and pauperdom — the dangers of which were signalled in economic slumps, devastating cholera epidemics and socialist insurrection.

Born into the professional classes, Villermé won his spurs as a surgeon in Napoleon's armies, and subsequently opted neither to practise nor to teach medicine, but to become a *sanitaire* recorder of social facts, particularly in Paris. Applying Comte's positivism and Quetelet's statistical approach, for over forty years he indefatigably pursued scientific hygiene, investigating conditions in prisons, workshops, factory towns, and slum quarters. Above all, he rendered knowledge of *la salubrité publique* into numbers, building up profiles of age-specific mortality, morbidity and fertility, and tables of life-expectancy related to variables such as social class, occupation, domicile, climate and environment — publishing his findings in a score of weighty articles and massive books such as the *Traité de l'état physique et morale des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine, et de soie* (two volumes, 1840).

Where did all this labour lead? For though Villermé's compilations were magnificent, they hardly revealed great surprises. They presented Balzacian panoramas of destitution, filth and disease, proving the poor were more sick more often and died younger than the rich, towns were less salubrious than the countryside, slum areas more disease-ridden than smarter quarters, and institutions such as prisons were death-traps. Common experience could have told Villermé that; in any case his own training in the Enlightenment medicine led him to expect it. Was Villermé then a great reformer, a French Rowntree or a Booth, using his statistics to campaign for social legislation? Certainly, he wanted to bring a new broom to corrupt public institutions; provide cleanliness, drainage, hygiene, and above all, work, and jail mortality would plummet. But the problem of social disease was altogether more intractable: there might be palliatives, but no panacea.

Villermé's diagnosis, unambiguously attributed morbidity and misery to poverty. But well-meaning hopes of curing poverty by legislation, redistribution of wealth or philanthropy were pie in the sky, fatally flawed by ignorance of poverty's true scientific causes. In part, poverty resulted from the accidental side-effects of the trade cycle, the vagaries of glut and depression sentencing the unfortunate to penury. Yet this was the price inevitably to be paid for the blessings of the free market ("our

most sacred right", hymned Villermé). The laws of classical economics were scientific and natural: there was no alternative and, in any case, laissez-faire cut-throat competition would spell progress in the long run. But his *miserables* were principally to blame for their own poverty. They were more villains than victims — or rather, they were the victims of their own fecklessness, debauchery and improvidence, and disease was their punishment. Hard facts should teach the destitute that in toil, thrift, self-help, hygiene and sexual restraint lay their public duties and private interests. Moreover, Villermé urged employers to exercise paternalistic control over their workers' morals — by providing schools, protecting child labour from immorality, and outlawing vice and alcohol.

Villermé set out on his investigative journey clad in Enlightenment optimism: the science of hygiene would reveal the truth about the social laws of ill-health, and people would respond. He was to grow more resigned, embracing a degenerationist biology. The poor and the sick would, after all, always be with us, because Nature had simply made men unequal. Yet this pessimism quite suited his detached, clinical mind. He had learned from political economy that you never got something for nothing; economic benefits earned human costs. And his wartime surgical experience had taught him to look danger in the eye. Indeed, the Paris school of medicine had instilled in him a kind of therapeutic nihilism: the doctor could offer diagnoses and prognoses; what he could not promise was to cure.

Villermé's socio-medical science smacks of bourgeois ideology. It is the merit of Professor Coleman's book to acknowledge this, but also to explicate the fine texture of Villermé's disguised polemics against the backdrop of changing socio-economic conditions and the disciplines of political economy and social medicine. Too often ideas are separated from social history, and the history of medicine is researched in splendid isolation from socio-economic theory. In his study of the man who saw death as a social disease, Professor Coleman has aptly succeeded in depicting the life of his hero as a social event.

Roy Porter

Roy Porter is lecturer at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London.

Ambitious notion

Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century
by M. M. Slaughter
Cambridge University Press, £25.00
ISBN 0 521 24477 3

The middle and later decades of the seventeenth century in Europe saw the enunciation of numerous schemes for the construction of a universal and/or philosophical language. In its most fully developed form such a language was to be written in an artificial character which combined the universality understood (as with the symbols of alchemy, astronomy or mathematics) and in which each character by representing a simple primary notion accurately reflected (that is, was isomorphic with) the real world. Therefore, when simple notions were combined to form complex ones, they would automatically be definitions. Such a language was attractive to contemporaries for several reasons — practical, pedagogical, philosophical and eponymous — and during the past three decades these aspects, as well as its intrinsic linguistic interest, have attracted a steadily increasing degree of scholarly attention.

This new study of the subject is, however, somewhat disappointing. In the first place the author limits herself to examining only one aspect of universal languages: their relationship to some contemporary scientific activities, and even this she examines only in the context of England. There are, it is true, a few



The "Orpheus" fresco from the throne-room of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos in south-west Greece. From the revised edition of Lord William Taylor's *The Mycenaeans*, published next week by Thames & Hudson at £12.50.

token glances at universal language schemes in France and elsewhere, but these are neither fully developed nor used comparatively against the English material. This is unfortunate for the title of the book and much of the exposition presents its conclusions as having general validity. But if this is the case then it surely needs to be demonstrated by the use of evidence drawn from more than one geographical area.

Briefly, and omitting the socio-cultural perspective in which the discussion is set, the argument is that the seventeenth century suffered from an "information explosion" which entailed a restructuring of scientific ideas. This was effected by re-classification. In order to impose order on the mass of new material scholars turned to taxonomy using an Aristotelian model of genus and species based on the idea of essences. In so doing they abstracted natural things from their natural context making them the subjects of logical analysis and classification. The universal languages were developed to provide an equally logical nomenclature, a form of discourse which was isomorphic with things and therefore, by naming them in the classificatory structure, defined them. In the course of this process language itself was abstracted and so it also became the object of logical analysis.

From this brief summary it can be seen that Slaughter's account of the rise and fall of universal languages is completely dependent upon her account of seventeenth century scientific activity. Here a major problem occurs. For Slaughter writes in twentieth-century jargon and speaks throughout of seventeenth century "science". That "science" is largely identified with biological science, itself represented in the detailed exposition of the book by botanical examples. The seventeenth century scholars engaged in the study of natural philosophy. This included virtually everything that was not divine philosophy. Development might proceed by mathematical, atomistical, accidental, even occult methods, but once conclusions were reached they were put out in an ordered form in natural history or a region of the heavens, butterflies or a region of the sky. The term "science" was organized was by some form of classification.

Taxonomy was thus the instrument for the description of a (natural) philosophy. Clearly it has no necessary connection with any particular philosophy. Nor was it even in the prevailing neo-Aristotelian philosophy, a method for discovery. Rather it supplied a means of exposition. That it was this natural philosophy which many of the language-planners adapted as a basis for their language was because they were constrained to

exposition and had therefore to have some form of organization. Ambiguously they dreamed of representing the absolute truth of the natural world, and it was the destruction of this idea, together with the impracticability of the languages they invented, rather than any necessary connexion with an obsolescent Aristotelian episteme which led to the disappearance of universal languages.

Anthony Turner

Anthony Turner is a freelance historian currently writing a history of pre-1800 scientific instruments.

Social knowledge

The Problem of Medical Knowledge: examining the social construction of medicine
edited by Peter Wright and Andrew Treacher
Edinburgh University Press, £10.00
ISBN 0 852 24417 7

Inspired largely by Foucault's seminal works *Madness and Civilization* and *The Birth of the Clinic* (published in Britain in 1967 and 1973 respectively), but also by developments in the philosophy and sociology of science, the study of medical knowledge and practice has witnessed a rapid and dynamic expansion during the past decade. Critical of the standard liberal histories of medicine that viewed changes in medical knowledge as a progressive movement towards truth and that held its content to be largely independent of the social context, recent work has questioned the scientific status of medical knowledge and practice, and has attempted to establish the way in which its contents are intimately related to economic, social and political forces.

The papers in this volume, (all published for the first time), share this scepticism about the nature and development of medical knowledge. Their common theme is that medical knowledge must be viewed as a social construction. Beyond this the authors differ in their disciplinary backgrounds (there are papers by historians, anthropologists, social psychologists and sociologists), and in their theoretical stances, as well as in the historical period with which they are concerned. For although the theoretical concerns are often explicitly discussed, the authors also substantiate their claims about the social construction of medical knowledge, with specific historical examples, in the form of their willingness to deal

with the particulars of the social and material conditions of the society in which the knowledge is developed, as well as of ideas and practices themselves, that produces such stimulating and exciting work and marks a clear advance on those earlier social constructionist approaches, like symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology, which flourished in the sociological field in the late 1960s.

Five of the nine papers are highly specific. John Gabbay examines changes in the concept of asthma, focusing on a classic discussion published at the end of the seventeenth century; Anne Marcovitch the work of an English physician, J. C. Leake, in the last decades of the eighteenth century; and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Roger Cooper the contagionist-anti-contagionist debate of the middle of the nineteenth century; David Armstrong ideas about the doctor-patient relationship between 1930 and 1980; and Karl Figlio the medico-legal debates concerning miners' pneumoconiosis in the years 1890-1940.

The other four papers (and the Introduction) are of a more general nature. David Ingley offers a conceptual analysis of the notion of mental illness; Edward Yoxen examines twentieth-century genetic explanations of disease and their implications for genetic counselling; Jean Comaroff looks at Western medicine in order to explore the connections between knowledge, symbol and ideology; and Howard Berlinger analyses the historical development of medicine in the United States in terms of four "medical modes of production".

Despite its particular and often historical concern with medicine, however, this is not simply a book for historians of medicine or even of science. It should be of general importance to sociologists, philosophers and historians, for the substantive and historical detail is used to explore some of the theoretical issues that are central to debates about knowledge, science and ideology and their relation to social and material conditions. For the majority of these writers the claim that knowledge is socially constructed, with its rejection of the idea that medical knowledge is independent and autonomous and based simply on empirical study of the natural world, does not mean that there can be a simple substitution of the opposing claim that knowledge is determined by its social and political context. Figlio (developing earlier work) and Cooper go furthest towards developing an alternative approach that tries to do justice to the complexity of the processes involved.

Joan Busfield

Joan Busfield is lecturer in sociology at the University of Essex.

BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Combining theories

Concept Formation in Social Science
by William Outwaite
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £12.50
ISBN 0 7100 9195 8

The propensity shown by sociologists to argue about the philosophical, epistemological, ontological or methodological bases of the subject is well known. Within the last few years functionalists have disputed with conflict theorists, structural theorists of all kinds with phenomenologists, sociologists who take the meaning of human action seriously with those who believe that to be humanist error, and ethnomethodologists with everybody else. Many of these debates revolve around the question of how seriously one can take human agency as against the agency of social structures. But an even more important source of dispute concerns the positivist programme for sociology.

It is positivist sociology that is William Outwaite's main target. His overall argument is notable for attempting to combine two anti-positivist doctrines, realism and hermeneutics, which are themselves often thought to be opposed. For Outwaite, positivism in sociology fails because it cannot provide an adequate account of the place of language in the social sciences and, particularly, because its distinction between theoretical and observational language will not stand up. Positivism cannot, therefore, provide any basis for the choice of concepts, a problem which applies to the natural sciences only a little less than to sociology. Hermeneutics, on the

other hand, offers a more plausible account of language in its insistence that scientific concepts cannot be sharply separated from those of everyday life. The hermeneutic tradition, however, has always had a difficulty of validation; there seem to be no coherent procedures which would decide between competing interpretations of the social world. The solution lies in a realist programme for sociology which, by proposing an alternative basis for science to that of positivism, makes it possible to harness the best intentions of hermeneutics to a scientific sociology.

Outwaite manifests considerable scholarship. More importantly, he writes elegantly and clearly, bringing out the essential features of rival accounts in a judicious manner. There are, however, some defects in the argumentative style. Outwaite has a tendency to present a case by outlining the views of various authors and then abruptly stating his conclusions. The reader is therefore left feeling that there has been no argument. This is not a drawback to the extended discussion of realist philosophies of science and social science, for there Outwaite is really contributing to a developing realist school otherwise represented in books by Bhaskar and Keat and Urry. It does, however, present a difficulty in the attempt to reconcile realism with hermeneutics. Although Outwaite states the problem clearly enough, and suggests that an insistence on the importance of meaningful relations in social life must be put together, both with materialism, and with realist naturalism, he does not present enough argument for the possibility, or indeed the desirability, of such an alliance.

My second critical point returns to the question of sociological arguments about the bases of the subject. In the many metatheoretical books in sociology we are generally given little guidance as to the relationship between the adoption of a particular metatheory — realism, positivism, or hermeneutics — and sociological research. What difference would realism, for example, make to the conduct of sociological work? This is not

a question which implicitly doubts the worth of theoretical work by contrast with concrete research. That way lies positivism. It is, however, a question about the relationships of metatheory, theory, and research. Outwaite does consider this problem in his brief final chapter. He argues that realism produces a sound concept of society as both a precondition and an outcome of human action. He further suggests that positivism has licensed empiricism, research programmes, I cannot follow either of these claims, for they both seem to misconstrue the relations between realism, positivism and sociology. In the first case, a range of concepts of society could follow from both realism and positivism; it is not clear that Outwaite's concept of society follows uniquely from his realism. Similarly, could not the mindless empiricism, of which we all disapprove but few now practise, be licensed, not only by positivism, but also by realism?

Nicholas Abercrombie

Nicholas Abercrombie is lecturer in sociology at the University of Lancaster.

The great debate

The Rules of Sociological Method: and selected texts on sociology and its method
by Emile Durkheim
translated by W. D. Halls
edited with an introduction by Steven Lukes
Macmillan, £15.00 and £4.95
ISBN 0 333 28071 7 and 28072 5

Durkheim's *Rules* is one of the most familiar of sociology's classics, and has been indispensable to introductory courses in the discipline since it was first translated by Sarah Solovay and John Mueller in 1938.

This earlier version was marred by several defects. A whole paragraph was accidentally missed from the first chapter, and at several points in the argument Durkheim's distinctive concepts were rendered unclear. The most important of these was the translators' decision to render his *representations collectives* by the far more vague "ideas". The term "collective representations", adopted in this new edition, preserves Durkheim's original emphasis on the active nature of mental production, and its essentially social character (and, incidentally, acknowledges his intellectual debt to the philosophy of Charles Renouvier). W. D. Halls's flowing translation will undoubtedly make the *Rules* both easier to teach and to read.

Steven Lukes has included 15 other texts in this edition, ranging from substantial articles, through book reviews and letters, to fragmentary notes, all dealing with one aspect or another of Durkheim's conceptions of the nature of sociology as a discipline and the character of its methods. This selection varies greatly in its interest: two of the pieces have already appeared in a collection on Durkheim edited by Mark Traugott. Two items stand out as particularly interesting. The longest, an essay which Durkheim wrote in 1903, "Sociology and the Social Sciences", in collaboration with his friend and fellow editor of the *Année sociologique* Paul Fauconnet, deserves careful consideration. Durkheim is too often portrayed as a very narrow intellect — one who was anxious to show that even the minutest aspects of human life must be explicable solely in sociological terms (and, moreover, French all the good ideas in the discipline). This view of the man can surely no longer be defended. We encounter here a generous view of the development of sociology.

There is no doubt that Durkheim entertained a very grand design for the development and role of sociology in relation to the other social sciences. He did share to some extent Auguste Comte's expectation that sociology would synthesize and

organize the findings of other disciplines. It is plain, however, that he had a more tolerant and well-informed view of the work of sister disciplines than is held by many of his latter-day co-professionals. Since his death Durkheim has come to be associated in many minds with a particularly hostile attitude towards psychology, and has been accused of crusading extremism in this direction which has been labelled "sociologism". Those who do hold such a view of Durkheim will be given much pause for thought by this essay, in which he designates sociology a "special psychology".

The highlight of the volume is a "Debate on Explanation in History and Sociology" (1908). We are given no details of the occasion which is reported here (Lukes is a rather conservative editor), but we are given the text of a debate between Durkheim and that grand old man of French historiography, Charles Seignobos. (Several of their eminent colleagues, such as Marc Bloch, and Cécile Broué occasionally manage to get a word in edgewise.) Durkheim is evidently replying to a paper read by Seignobos, and begins by challenging him to clarify his understanding of the role of the unconscious in history. Seignobos is inclined, perhaps rashly, to regard such factors as residual in historical explanation. Durkheim tries to tease out from him, unsuccessfully, an admission that historians may need to consider a level of causation which is not exhausted by the accounts of participants in historical events. Durkheim takes a most interesting turn in the debate, as he attempts to sketch an approach to history which appears to come very close to Max Weber's famous "method of understanding" — and Durkheim entirely misses the point!

The occasion gives us a rare and valuable opportunity to eavesdrop on Durkheim reflecting on historical method.

John Allcock

John Allcock is lecturer in sociology at the University of Bradford.

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BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Class origins

Memories of Class: the prehistory and afterlife of class
by Zygmunt Bauman
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £10.95
ISBN 0 7100 9196 6

The major conflicts and inequalities of late capitalist society, Professor Bauman tells us in this book, are no longer those of class. Sociologists steeped in the now dominant tradition of seeing class and economic divisions as fundamental have usually been able to put aside such a claim with little difficulty. It will not, however, be so easy to dispose of Bauman's thesis. This is no polemical attack on Marxist or neo-Marxist sociology, nor a liberal defence of "post-industrial society". It is a carefully reasoned analysis of the development of class conflicts and inequalities in British society, combining scholarship, realism and sociological imagination.

The notion of historical memory, or remembered history, which refers neither to the writings of historians, nor to oral history, but to a much less tangible collective memory, is presented as the key concept for understanding the development of class conflict. In the nineteenth century, it was the historical memory of the independence of artisans, their control over their own labour and, to a degree, the product of their labour, that provoked resistance to the imposition of the new "discipline power" of the factory system. The genesis of this "discipline power" is seen in turn as stemming primarily from concerns to discipline and contain the poor in the face of the breakdown of the old order through rising population and pauperization. While it did come to serve the economic purposes of the factory system, Bauman suggests that initially the moral purpose of the factory as an agent of discipline and control was paramount.

It was only in the course of the nineteenth century, the argument proceeds, that class conflict became "economized": resistance to "discipline power" became channelled into claims against the division of the surplus value of labour. The commitment of trade unions to free collective bargaining, and the persistence of strikes in which the extra wages gained do not offset those lost, are thus explicable as attempts to maintain some element of worker autonomy. The argument is further supported by the prevalence of industrial actions in parts of the public sector where there is no effect on surplus or profit to disrupt. The "economization" of class conflict is seen to reflect not so much the development of working-class con-

sciousness, but rather a shift of conflict from the control of production to distribution and consumption. The basis is thus laid for the consumer society, which is dominated by the demand to acquire consumer goods.

Prominent in the historical memory of late capitalist society is the conflict between workers and capitalists over the distribution and control of surplus. Various attempts to depict the rise of new classes exercising or attempting to exercise control over the surplus of production—whether they be managers, intellectuals or bureaucrats—are seen as rooted in this historical memory, as are predictions of widening polarization between capital and labour. Bauman sees deprivation in late capitalist society not as a consequence of people's relations to the production process, but rather as flowing from their weak entitlements to the allocation of consumer benefits. The division is primarily political rather than economic. The corporate institutionalization of workers' interests prevents polarization between capital and labour; while those without corporate or political protection of their interests—the unemployed, blacks, women, the young—are likely to become increasingly impoverished.

Bauman is not suggesting that classes no longer exist: in fact he identifies contemporary classes. Rather, the point is that class and economic divisions are no longer central to the

David Berry

David Berry is senior lecturer and head of the department of sociology at University College, Cardiff.

Constant struggle

Rethinking Social Inequality
edited by David Rebbins, at al
Gower, £14.50
ISBN 0 566 00557 3

Race, Class and Education
edited by Len Barton and Stephen Walker
Croom Helm, £13.95 and £6.95
ISBN 0 7099 0683 8 and 0684 6

One of life's larger ironies is that just when the Social Science Research Council is being cut to the bone, the government's informal family policy group has begun to ask social questions of such totemic-curling naivety that sociology might never have existed.

For example, the group suddenly wants to "identify major influences on children: e.g. parents, schools and teachers, peers, the media," and to "assess correlations between influences in childhood and characteristics in later life". Of course the explanation of the paradox is that we are dealing here not with social science but with religious and political faith. The government, infused with a rhetoric of the market place and individual responsibility and choice, already knows the answers. Sociology is being punished because it keeps coming up with inconvenient information or, worse still, challenging the intellectual basis of official questions and inventing its own.

These two books of conference papers reveal a further irony. While sociology is pictured by its critics as the captive of left-wing activists, sociologists themselves have a constant struggle to stay outside the political and philosophical orthodoxies of the day. Scarcely had sociologists escaped the facile optimism of American theories about the automatic equalization of life chances (through technological advance and benevolent government intervention) than they were plunged into a pessimistic French Marxist structuralist determinism, where individuals are merely received and transmitted by a repressive social structure with no possibility of political action to promote change. Far from being politically dangerous both ways, these models were in their different ways profoundly conservative. In *Rethinking Social Inequality* the editors argue that the sociology of the 1960s was preoccupied with the merely "distributional" question of what share of the nation's resources a "social democratic" approach which neglected the key questions of power relationships between groups of different social class, gender, race and age, etc., could be argued, must now study these

relational questions, where economic inequalities are still important, but are seen to be mediated by the institutions and processes of class conflict, racism, sexism and ageism. Structures do not merely exist objectively and impinge on passive individuals: people live in relationships and groups whose cultures are continually produced through interaction, and it is in the relationships between different cultures—through cultural politics—that social structures are reproduced.

Two further heresies to the old sociology have been spotted by authors in these books. Paul Willis now confesses, in *Race, Class and Education*, that previous descriptions of subordinate cultures as merely "resistance" to, or "opposition" to, or "penetration" of, the dominant culture, tend to deny the subordinate groups an identity in their own right. Further, the move to viewing subordinate cultures as actors (rather than merely reactors) with a potential for becoming political movements where sociologists might play a part, would allow for the possibility that social reproduction might emerge as a changing dynamic set of relationships rather than an automatic repeat of class, racial, patriarchal and age domination.

This reassessment could be very rewarding. But one or two of these vital writers (Philip Wexler, Chris Mullard, Philip Corrigan especially, and unfortunately, although to a lesser extent, Willis himself) affect a testy, and apologetic, prose style which has a pretentious and arrogant opacity. Also some dirty sociological litanies are exposed. Professor Peter Townsend may be forgiven some surprise at finding himself branded a social democrat. One wonders how much of his work the editors of *Rethinking Social Inequality* have actually read, although they do grudgingly admit that his uncovering of the facts of inequality have contributed to the present switch of interest to relational issues. Worse still, Professor John Rex turns out after all this time to be beyond the pale because his "assimilationist" model fails to contrast liberal white racism.

The logic of some of the new relational sociology seems to be that whites (and indeed many blacks) are unable or wrong to study blacks, and men cannot study women. Energy should be focused on political activity or the analysis of white racism, patriarchy, ageism and class domination. But in a time when it has never been more needed where does this leave the sociological imagination? Will the only acceptable researchers be upper-class, early middle-aged, white, racist, monetarist male chauvinists?

Dennis Marsden

Dennis Marsden is reader in sociology at the University of Essex.

BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

The blue lamp

The Police: autonomy and consent
by Michael Brodgen
Academic Press, £21.00
ISBN 0 12 135180 7

Since the riots of 1981 the police have been the object of intense public and academic discussion, most of it superficial, tendentious and ill-informed. Two issues have dominated that discussion, "accountability" and "policing by consent". Addressing these twin concerns, Michael Brodgen elevates his argument above the usual facile formulations, and demolishes not only orthodox police mythologies but also simplistic "radical" remedies.

His thesis is that since its inception the police force has been manoeuvred by its chiefs from being simply the agent of the dominant class to a position of considerable autonomy. The chiefs managed this by exploiting the vacuum created by the shift in power from local to central government; also by emphasizing their rights and duties as officers of the law as well as servants of the state; and by affirming the ideology of "managerialism", which allows them to present themselves as neutral experts in law enforcement.

Freedom they have secured from political accountability is legitimized by the claim that the police receive the direct support of the public as a whole who see the suppression of crime as being to the benefit of all social classes. The police also "manufacture" consent in practice, by criminalizing only the most marginal sections of society, thus uniting everyone else against them.

At first sight, the complexity and contingency with which this development is conceptualized, the definitions of classes and their hypothesized relations, and the presumed autonomy of the legal system from the economic base of society, all make this thesis appear somewhat incompatible with the author's Marxist affiliations, which are, however, manifested in the jargon he evidently feels compelled to use. One gains the impression that he is struggling to contain his own scholarship (which prevents him from relying on simplistic formulations) within ideologically acceptable boundaries.

As a result of this endeavour, Brodgen's argument is, in places, not only unnecessarily convoluted but also unconvincing. It produces conceptual elasticity that can too easily be stretched to retain ideological acceptability. Complex historical changes are too easily and unconvincingly explained away by references to the "changing composition of capital". A Marxist notion of "interests" gratuitously attributes sinister motives to actors and unwarrantably assumes that changes beneficial to a group must therefore have been engineered by it. Thus "community policing" is not simply mistaken, the result of a romantic delusion, but is a Machiavellian attempt simply to "sell" the police. Police autonomy is not the unintended consequence of a complex series of actions and changes, but the conspiratorial achievement of police chiefs. If this is true, one can only marvel at men possessed of so much foresight and ability. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine how those so powerful have contrived to get themselves into their present embattled position.

Ideological commitment not only leads to this kind of over-statement, but also to the setting up and demolition of straw men. Whoever believed that the principle of "consent" entailed the consent of the "marginalized working class"? The police pretend only to seek the consent of "ordinary, respectable people" and, according to Brodgen, have actually acquired it, albeit by harassing the lowest social strata. Similarly, who-

ever thought that the police were there not committed to maintaining the existing social order? Of course there is a "general identity" of interest between the dominant classes and the police: no one would imagine that the police see their task as subverting the social order.

However, if it is true that the police have successfully "manufactured" consent and are not called to account because they effectively safeguard the interests of the dominant classes, the problems of "consent" and "accountability" appear, in fact, to be non-existent. Brodgen's dilemma is that such a conclusion, though valid, is ideologically unacceptable: received radical wisdom has it that "consent" and "accountability" are problems. Again, therefore, Brodgen struggles to compress his insightful empirical analysis into an ideologically acceptable formulation.

The ideologically uncommitted might wonder whether this is worth all the effort and whether an alternative theoretical framework might not prove more suitable. Brodgen's own summary dismissal of interactionist approaches to policing would seem, in this context, to be particularly hasty and ill-judged. Far from there being the gulf between his "structural" analysis and interactionist studies of how police officers actually do their job, as he maintains, there is, in fact, considerable continuity. Like the police chief described by Brodgen, the humble constable tries to control the situation he is in, negotiating his role with others more powerful, seeking autonomy, and trying to convince others of his definition of the situation. The police chief is performing on a wider stage and playing—to mix metaphors—for higher stakes, it is true. However, it is not evident, from what Brodgen tells us, that the "game" the chief plays is any less amenable to the kind of analysis that has successfully been employed by others in explaining the behaviour of his subordinates, and, indeed, the behaviour of those in senior positions in other large organizations.

Had he paid more attention to these interactionist studies, Brodgen might have been more cautious in resting so much of his argument on the claim that the police "manufacture" consent by picking on the lowest strata. On the contrary, data suggests that the police initiate few actions against anyone. They mainly respond to complaints made by the public, and, in deciding whether to arrest, are largely guided by complainants' wishes. For Brodgen this might lead to the ideologically unpalatable conclusion that the reason the police enjoy the support and approval of so many, is because they do what the majority of people desire of them.

P. A. J. Waddington

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Positivist disputes

Positivism and Sociology: explaining social life
by Peter Halfpenny
Allen & Unwin, £10.95 and £4.50
ISBN 0 04 300084 3 and 300085 1

As a contribution to a series entitled "Controversies in Sociology", Halfpenny's study of positivism and sociology has a very narrow focus, centring on "the issue of what positivism is, or was". This controversy is dealt with almost entirely within the confines of an analytical philosophy of science tradition, with the result that the debate between the various positivisms remains largely internal. Thus, although Halfpenny's careful analysis of the development of the positivist tradition enables him to identify "twelve positivisms" half of which were advanced by its founder, Comte—what controversy exists in the history of positivism is largely confined to disagreements among its advocates and practitioners.

This is unfortunate for two reasons. First, because the controversies surrounding positivism in sociology—from the late nineteenth-century neo-Kantian offensive to the more recent "positivist dispute" in Germany and its reverberations elsewhere, Winch's and later the attacks of phenomenology and ethnomethodology within sociology and the more recent critical realist revival—are all merely alluded to and not properly discussed.

Secondly, the acknowledged founder of a "positivist philosophy", August Comte, is also the founder of a "positivist sociology". Although Halfpenny's study rigorously examines the positivist philosophy of science in its major variants, the book's subtle explaining sociology suggests that some assessment of how successful the various positivisms were and are in carrying out this task should have been made. Unfortunately, at the end of his study, Halfpenny deals all too briefly with the question he himself poses at the outset as to "whether the enormous influence of various forms of positivism over sociology have been beneficial or malignant". Indeed, the main burden of the text lies heavily in favour of philosophers of science rather than sociologists and many of the former have notoriously paid scant attention to the issue of how to explain "social life". Some have even exhibited a strong contempt for the whole sociological enterprise.

The strength of Halfpenny's study lies elsewhere in its careful delineation of the often ambiguous and contradictory variants of positivism. This includes a succinct account of the relation between the development of statistics and positivism, and two closely argued chapters on "Law and Explanation" and "Theory and Evidence". It is this aspect of Halfpenny's study that will make it attractive for courses in the philosophy of the social sciences and sociological methodology.

David Frisby

David Frisby lectures in sociology at the University of Glasgow.

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BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Romany rye

The Traveller-Gypsies
by Judith Okely
Cambridge University Press, £19.50 and £6.50
ISBN 0 521 24641 5 and 28870 3

The popular image of the gypsies is one which perhaps tells us a great deal less about their culture and social organization than about our own prejudices and cultural values. We seem all too ready to give credence to a range of quite unsupportable myths about their supposedly Asian origins, to identify their way of life as a remnant of a vanished rural society in which an itinerant occupational group would have seemed more "normal", or to categorize those people who currently travel in caravans and engage in scrap metal dealing or other aspects of the informal economy as less authentically "gypsy" than those who wear bright headscarves, journey from fair to fair in horse-drawn caravans and eat hedgehogs.

It is remarkable that there has been so little sociological or anthropological research of any quality on gypsies. Despite the considerable attempts made during the 1960s and early 1970s to control the gypsy population, by fixing it to certain sites and subjecting it to the uncertain charms of the welfare state, such administrative objectives were based on the thinnest of documentary evidence about gypsies and travellers. Although a number of attempts were made to acquire survey data about gypsies at that time, most produced little of value in scientific terms because of their domination by a set of policy objectives which had more to do with the exigencies of planning law than with a desire to understand the complexities of their society and culture. Dr Okely's book is the culmination of a long process of fieldwork and analysis which began with her own involvement in "policy-oriented" research. Its interest and value as a study of traveller-gypsies lies precisely in the senses in which it departs from the narrow confines of the "here today, gone tomorrow" survey and the tyranny of the carefully administered questionnaire.

Despite the "gorgio" stereotypes of the "oppositional" gypsy society, it remains one which is better easy to enter non-simply reduced to facile classification as a deviant or marginal subculture. The great merit of Dr Okely's book is that it is based on extensive and detailed fieldwork which involved living and working with her subjects, so that we have the assurance that she speaks with authority about gypsy matters. So many of the "gypsology" sources depend upon limited contexts or hearsay accounts that it is an exception to find a survey which clarifies rather than mystifies or folklorizes.

Typically, for a social anthropologist, Dr Okely pays considerable attention to the values and ideologies which buttress gypsy identity. But this is important because it is the self-assertion of travellers and gypsies which seems in the last analysis to be the central basis of their differentiation from the gorgio majority. Dr Okely shows how the exclusionary character of gypsy society is maintained by customs, symbolic rituals and other practices which serve to sharply demarcate gorgio and gypsy life. Even the frequently observed and administratively disapproved squalor and filth which usually surrounds gypsy encampments - despite the pristine cleanliness of caravans - is shown to have a distinctive symbolic function in relation to the pollution taboos which reinforce group solidarity. Gypsy culture is organized around the need to prevent assimilation with gorgio society while still permitting access to it - for the raison d'être of gypsy society is of course its economic relations with the wider socioeconomic system.

It is in the discussion of the distinctive relationships between gypsy culture, social structure and economy that Dr Okely has so much to offer. Gypsies constitute a spasmodically itinerant socioeconomic stratum (are they, one wonders, a pre-capitalist class fraction?) which has close links to the rural and urban working class and perhaps to the petty bourgeoisie as well. In some ways they illustrate the perennality of the informal economy, while in others such as their enterprise and adaptability they represent the quintessence of Mrs Thatcher's ideal small businessman.

The traveller-gypsies' success at avoiding domination by wage-labour, formal education and sedentarization has been achieved at least partly by their willingness to encourage the stereotypes in which our gorgio society delights. But it has also been a difficult struggle against the forces of social, economic and political control (which in countries like Nazi Germany and in the Eastern bloc have been more successful in ending the "gypsy problem").

This is a fascinating contribution to the literature about gypsies, which serves to underline just how little we knew about an ethnic group which has for so long been an integral part of - if distinct from - British society. Thanks to Dr Okely, we now know a great deal more.

Peter Hamilton

Peter Hamilton is lecturer in sociology at the Open University.

Working models

White-Collar Work
by K. Prandy, A. Stewart and R. M. Blackburn
Macmillan, £17.50 and £7.95
ISBN 0 333 24331 and 33273 3
High Pressure working lives of women managers
by Cary Cooper and Marilyn Davidson
Fontana, £1.95
ISBN 0 00 636236 2

White-Collar Work is the third volume in the "Cambridge Studies in Sociology" series, and the third book from the small group of sociologists working in the department of applied economics in Cambridge. Those familiar with the earlier volumes will know what to expect: a discussion of a topic of central sociological concern (in this case "the middle class"), which is conceptually and theoretically rigorous and complex, and which draws on a body of largely quantitative data analysed with the latest techniques. The result makes for demanding reading, but is an important contribution to debates about the class structure.

The empirical data for the study were collected around 1969-70 (the precise date is not given), and are the product of interviews with 1,918 male non-manual employees in manufacturing, commercial, government and other public enterprise organizations, more than 500 people from 60 major Cambridge employers and 30 professionals and managers. The timing of the study is reflected in its initial formulation within a broadly social action framework of reference.

The authors were concerned to explore the ways in which white-collar work was experienced, and the adaptations which resulted from these experiences. Including particularly the propensity to engage in collective action (a topic which will be explored further in a forthcoming volume). Thus they analyse the ways in which the importance of education, including part-time education, qualifications and first job for their careers, their current position, and how these were perceived, and they relate all these factors to the content and salience of the workers' expectations and to the nature and level of job satisfaction. Satisfaction



The interior of a gypsy trailer, a photograph by Homer Sykes reproduced in Judith Okely's book.

with each type of reward was increased by more favourable perceptions of it, and decreased by higher expectations; overall satisfaction was most strongly influenced by promotion opportunities and intrinsic job rewards; and older workers tended to express greater satisfaction.

The determination of individual adaptations to work (for example: job attachment, self estrangement) was complex, and the patterns of attitudes to trade unionism differed significantly between the public and the private sector. "Enterprise unionism" (willingness to engage in collective action) which was higher in the public sector, was particularly influenced by dissatisfaction with earnings and security; "society unionism" (identification with the wider labour movement) was a result of influences beyond the enterprise itself. Those with higher rewards, and higher levels of satisfaction, had stronger overall commitment to the organization.

In the course of their account the authors contribute usefully to debates about such issues as orientations to work, which they argue can be thought of as "prior" to work, and Herzberg's motivational theory, which is not supported by their data. In their valuable concluding discussion they move away from an action framework to discuss the ways in which the individual attitudes and actions they have been describing contribute to the reproduction of the social system, including the structure of inequality, of which they are a part. Their own detailed analysis is briefly brought to bear on current debates about the role of the market in the analysis of class structure and the need to be emphasized for "new integrated" explanations, which can account for the collective "enforced" of the social and economic organizations of modern societies. For many this may be the most interesting part of the whole book. Yet, while it would be regrettable if all sociological research adopted the methods of investigation and analysis favoured by these authors, they have again related detailed empirical findings to move effectively between the various levels of discourse involved, and the value of doing so.

High Pressure is a very different kind of work, though one which also forms part of a sequence of contributions, those by Professor Cooper to the discussion of "stress". It combines two main sorts of material: a wide-ranging review of the literature relating to women's roles at work, especially in management and on stress, very broadly defined; and the findings from a questionnaire study by 155 senior female executives

with each type of reward was increased by more favourable perceptions of it, and decreased by higher expectations; overall satisfaction was most strongly influenced by promotion opportunities and intrinsic job rewards; and older workers tended to express greater satisfaction.

The digest of the literature will be of value to many, but perhaps of greater interest are the very illuminating quotations from interviews and questionnaire replies. It seems clear from these that women in management face two sorts of problems: over and above those faced by men in the same occupations; those common to employed women generally of coping with the pressures of both work and family and domestic responsibilities; and the specific difficulties, prejudice and discrimination faced by women in positions of authority "normally" filled by men. Though the authors start by outlining "a model of occupational stress in female managers" this is subsequently often lost to view, and I suspect that their work will be more widely referred to for this original, but all too familiar, descriptive material on women managers' roles.

Richard K. Brown

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Journal of the Commission for Racial Equality
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BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Social reality

Life-World and Social Realities
by Thomas Luckmann
Heinemann Educational, £16.50
ISBN 0 435 82550 X

Thomas Luckmann is best known to English readers as the co-author, with Peter L. Berger, of *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) a work of original synthesis in sociological theory. It's subtitle *a treatise in the sociology of knowledge* gives little idea of its importance as a contribution to a better, more scientifically adequate understanding of the status of social reality as both a product of human activity and its pre-condition within a cosmic framework which precedes and underlies every possible human accomplishment.

To specialists, Luckmann is known primarily as a sociologist of religion, though, as his book *The Invisible Religion* (1967) makes clear, his conceptions of the discipline "sociology" and the topic "religion" are both analytically precise enough and sufficiently wide to make his studies of no less interest to anyone concerned with the nature of human society and the sciences which make it the object of investigation.

The publication of a collection of his essays, nine in all, is an event of considerable importance at a time when sociology, already under pressure to an ideologically hostile and economically constricting environment, is castling around for a statement of its theoretical foundations which will justify its claims to be a legitimate science of man and not, as its critics suggest it must inevitably be, an ideologically corrupted marmalade of acerbic jargon, boiled-up by an assortment of amateur philosophers and professional snobs.

I make these general remarks because it seems to me that the theoretical streams which flow into the work of Luckmann's thought are just those which are most likely to sustain the sociological enterprise through the practically difficult but theoretically challenging times which lie ahead. They are, incidentally, also the sources for Berger and Luckmann's recent vindication of the social sciences *Sociology Reinterpreted* (Penguin, 1982), an essay on sociological method and the ethical vocation it demands which reflects credit upon the scientific enterprise itself while not disguising the ways in which it can be and too often has been betrayed by those who, temperamentally or by intellectual conviction, cannot distinguish between the objective, ontological, and the subjective, moral meanings of the ambiguous sentence "This is the way things have to be." Like Weber before them, these authors insist that the results of interpretation are not bound to the desires and biases of the interpreter. Understanding is subject to no will but the will for truth in a sociology which is value-free, not because its practitioners have no values of their own, but because, in his work as a social scientist, he has learned the discipline of submitting his ideals to the test of reality.

Luckmann groups his essays under two headings: "Basic Structures" and "Historical Transformations". The three substantial pieces in the first section are, as he puts it, "protosociological". They are investigations of different aspects of what, following Husserl, Gurwitsch and Schutz, he calls the "life-world" - the world of immediate experience which is the source of all problems, practical or theoretical, philosophical and sociological. That is, he seeks to examine the structures of the life-world in terms of the way they are experienced in the life of the conscious actor. More explicitly than some other phenomenologists, he notes that there is a dual foundation to all such structures. On the one hand, in terms of direct Husserlian phe-

nomenology, they are all constituted, as significant items of the world, in the experience of each individual actor. Only so far as he encounters them do they become part of the actor's experienced reality. On the other hand, in terms of a philosophical anthropology and biology which is itself phenomenologically based, they must be understood as already constituted realities produced and maintained in the life of a species and a community into which the individual actor is born.

Critics of phenomenology often claim that the phenomenological approach to sociology, exemplified by the work of Schutz above all, is incapable of grasping the extent to which social institutions are objective realities formed not in the mind of the subject but by historical processes which precede and condition the circumstances of his birth and the bounds of his consciousness. Luckmann's work refutes this criticism by delving beneath the level of historical objectivism to examine, in the light of the work of such men as Helmuth Plessner, Arnold Oehlen and Adolf Portmann, the ways in which the possibilities of history are bounded by structures of human consciousness and existence which are specific to our species and so anthropologically universal.

His essay on "Personal Identity as an Evolutionary and Historical Problem", begins the second section of the book and forms an effective transition from proto-sociological to properly socio-theoretical essays. It opens with a concise and well referenced summary of the anthropological assumptions derived from these and related writers which, in their turn, form the presuppositions for his analyses of the relationship between social mobility and personal identity and the place which religion occupies in modern as opposed to traditional society. All sociologists make assumptions about human nature but

few go so far as Luckmann to justify them in the light of a philosophically sophisticated science which incorporates anthropologically relevant elements of cosmology, biology and psychology. Only a sociology aware of the significance of such factors for the life of the species can really be said to provide a truly scientific approach to the study of society.

No review of this fascinating collection would be complete without mentioning Luckmann's analysis of modernity in terms of the dissociation between man's individual consciousness, which no longer identifies its essence in terms of a "sacred cosmos" or shared symbolic universe, and a pattern of institutions which operate according to their own functional imperatives as a plurality of impersonal bureaucracies which neither want nor are able to articulate the deepest concerns of those whose lives they order. Here, deriving from Weber's conception of the effects of rationalization as an unintended exercise in the "disenchantment of the world" and Gehlen's philosophy of institutions - whose major expressions still remain untranslated into English - is the source of a critique of present society which is free from historical myths and utopian fantasies, in remaining true to the intellectual rigours of an open-minded and self-aware, reflexive, social science Thomas Luckmann's sociology can do more to inform responsible political practice than many more overtly "practical" works.

Life-World and Social Realities is, now more than ever it might have been before, an important addition to the intellectually uneven and unsettled literature of sociological theory.

David J. Levy

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Job sharing

Married to the Job: wives' incorporation in men's work
by Janet Finch
Allen & Unwin, £10.00
ISBN 0 04 301149 7

The argument of this book is that when a woman marries she takes on a husband, but marries into his job as well - she becomes incorporated into his career. I recently came across an author's acknowledgment that:

My wife... did much of the real work with consummate skill: key-punching, operating computing machinery, setting up tabulations, organizing and documenting data files, finding and checking references, editing and typing. Her energy and patience kept me going, too.

Why not make her a co-author - what more did she have to do? The career of many a male academic, doctor and lawyer is similarly predicated on the assumption that he has not only an unpaid home-maker and companion, but also an unpaid research assistant, receptionist, hostess and so on.

Dr Finch extends the notion of the incorporation of wives into their husbands' careers from the rather narrow base of professional occupations (where incorporation is often quite obvious) to include a variety of non-manual and manual jobs. Evidence is assembled from mainly secondary sources showing ways in which the wives of railway workers, fishermen, soldiers, prison officers, businessmen, farmers and others are drawn into their husbands' occupational lives. The strength of the book lies in the range of material considered; its weakness is the tantalizingly brief treatment of some of the issues. The illustrations, perhaps this brevity is inevitable for, as the author recognizes, there has been limited empirical work in this area, though Dr Finch does draw extensively on her earlier study of the wives of clergymen.

The relationships between wives and their husbands' occupations are explored in two ways. First, the men are seen in their own occupations (where they work, the hours of

work, the nature of their jobs) impose considerable constraints on their wives, whether it is the frequent absences of the long-distance lorry driver, the miner who demands "a have for the tired man", or the academic who wants peace and quiet in the home so that he can finish "the book". Wives are thus "hedged in" by their husbands' work, their freedom of action limited and their choices constrained.

Second, wives are inevitably "drawn in" to their husbands' work. At the most basic level they act as unpaid domestic workers - they free their husbands for work outside the home and in many occupations provide all sorts of back-up and assistance directly related to their husbands' jobs. Indeed, in some occupations employers are in effect getting "two for the price of one". The extent and the ways in which wives are incorporated into their husbands' work varies, of course. Dr Finch argues, however, that all are in some way drawn in, if only through the provision of unpaid domestic labour and in giving moral support. Wives who themselves have paid employment outside the home end up with three jobs - workers in their own right, unpaid domestic workers and supporters of their husbands' occupations.

Why do wives accept incorporation into their husbands' work in this way? The author concludes that this is not only because they are socialized to want to be drawn in, and because of the lack of alternatives, but also because there are economic and social benefits. It makes economic sense for wives to "invest" in their husbands' careers. Most women cannot hope to earn anything like as much as men, so it is economically sensible for wives to help their husbands to maximize their earnings. Moreover, societal values and the organization of social life assume that wives are drawn into their husbands' work and to refuse to be incorporated would jeopardize the prevailing "partnership" model of marriage. As long as women want to go on being wives it makes very good sense for them to be "married to the job".

David Podmore

David Podmore is lecturer in sociology at the University of Aston.

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The University of Chicago Press, 126 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1W 9SD

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- 8 Psychology (I)
- 15 Engineering
- 22 Philosophy
- 29 Chemistry

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2897, 2899, 2901, 2903, 2905, 2907, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2915, 2917, 2919, 2921, 2923, 2925, 2927, 2929, 2931, 2933, 2935, 2937, 2939, 2941, 2943, 2945, 2947, 2949, 2951, 2953, 2955, 2957, 2959, 2961, 2963, 2965, 2967, 2969, 2971, 2973, 2975, 2977, 2979, 2981, 2983, 2985, 2987, 2989, 2991, 2993, 2995, 2997, 2999, 3001, 3003, 3005, 3007, 3009, 3011, 3013, 3015, 3017, 3019, 3021, 3023, 3025, 3027, 3029, 3031, 3033, 3035, 3037, 3039, 3041, 3043, 3045, 3047, 3049, 3051, 3053, 3055, 3057, 3059, 3061, 3063, 3065, 3067, 3069, 3071, 3073, 3075, 3077, 3079, 3081, 3083, 3085, 3087, 3089, 3091, 3093, 3095, 3097, 3099, 3101, 3103, 3105, 3107, 3109, 3111, 3113, 3115, 3117, 3119, 3121, 3123, 3125, 3127, 3129, 3131, 3133, 3135, 3137, 3139, 3141, 3143, 3145, 3147, 3149, 3151, 3153, 3155, 3157, 3159, 3161, 3163, 3165, 3167, 3169, 3171, 3173, 3175, 3177, 3179, 3181, 3183, 3185, 3187, 3189, 3191, 3193, 3195, 3197, 3199, 3201, 3203, 3205, 3207, 3209, 3211, 3213, 3215, 3217, 3219, 3221, 3223, 3225, 3227, 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Don's diary

Day One

"You can have as much Egyptian currency as you like but you can only take 20 Egyptian pounds into Cairo."
"What will I do with the excess?"
"You can have as much Egyptian currency as you like but you can only take 20 Egyptian pounds into Cairo!"
Pause, while other customers exit left and right.
"OK, I'll have 20 Egyptian pounds."

The academic mind is as sharp as a lance, the spirit indomitable, but we are pragmatists at heart. I am off for a cruise up the Nile, or so a colleague claims. Actually I am an external examiner in transit. Cairo is the target and I am having a little trouble at Heathrow. One is never sure how to travel. It is either a "visit the heart of the oriental world" tour with traveller's cheques and a certainty of belief that everyone will know one Thomas Cook, or on an outing as a "Treveller" with a \$100 note in a left shoe and £100 note in the right (the exchange rate is about right).
We will arrive at midnight and I feel I need a little backwash for the taxi and the porters who always point where I must carry my luggage. Having been put in my place by the man from Barclays, I busy myself in the departure lounge with the 22 lbs of project reports I am carrying. How did I get away without being charged excess baggage? Well, one all...

Day Two

Three more projects await me in the hotel. That is going to be three more orals. Two now, each lasting about an hour... a fine way to spend three days on my "Nile cruise". I settle down on my free day before the orals to read some tricky passages and prepare some questions.
Remember, a friend said to me before I left, "don't be clever, be fair." English is not my red rag, but I must correct a few spelling mistakes, if not the punctuation. "Go for the flavour," my friend said. "Be generous. Remember I read your PhD."

Forget spelling, look for tables of results. I am a new boy on this postgraduate course and I am not sure how much help the students have had from their tutors. It seems to me that it does not matter too much as long as the student can now see what he is saying. That is, I suppose, one of the functions of the oral. The course is fairly straightforward except that special arrangements have been made for students from overseas. A "special arrangement" exists with the University of Cairo to allow students to work on projects at home and have a local... bringing the external examiner 2,000 miles.
Lunch at 4.30 and I have done well with the bound tome of wisdom. I need lunch the way I need another project report. Yet this Om Ali is the mother of all rice puddings, raisins, nuts, spices, cream and, yes, rice.
Well, I finish before 6.00pm. I will have four hours' work before we go out for a light dinner. Why can't students read regulations regarding the formal of their project reports? How can I be expected to find out what they have done if they don't tell me? The glass of Omar Kyan with the kebabs abhors the mind, dulls the palate, but makes one less tolerant of ambiguity.

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Day Three

"Please come in. Now we are going to talk to you about your project."
Did you have difficulty finding the room?
"Ah yes... the traffic" (that kept you since 10.00).
"Why is it only 11.30?"
"Well, let's start with your results."
At least in some countries they have a word that describes this dead-

ated avoidance of time keeping. In Java it is "jamkeret", elastic time. Mind you, even on the islands on the west of Scotland, jamkeret is a bit heady at times. Here the idea translates into "the traffic". I suppose it must be given, the way one gets around as a driver in Cairo. To drive one should follow these instructions: place one hand on the horn, one foot on the accelerator, one hand on the wheel, close to the lights switch, and with a rapid pumping of the left foot, swerve and flash around all the other pilots.

How does one put the candidate at ease? They all look so well dressed, fit me almost casual in my best travelling suit. It reminds me of the candidate who turned up in a dinner jacket and jeans and when asked said it was to reflect the quality of his thesis; a well-polished beginning, but more casual towards the end. If we socialize for too long, then the poor candidate will think, "What's this chap up to?" Or if one adopts the Aberdeen swimming pool approach (jump and don't think of the consequences) then they might dry up.

Day Four

The president gets up, lunch is over. The president and his four assistants leave. As a guest, I quickly hop in behind. I wish I had finished the Om Ali. It seems a shame to leave so much on one's plate. Will we have Turkish coffee on the terrace? "Of course."

We are guests at an official lunch in a private club. At the next table, I am told by four different people, is a minister with a group of visitors. As they leave we are warmly greeted and their party leave us to continue our talk about the traffic. Some people have a nice ability to make one feel special, even though they can't know who one is.
I dare not ask if he knows someone. There are 150,000 students in the university, more students than were to all of the UK universities in the early 1960s.

I'm not sure what role I'm playing, external unbiased examiner or representative of UK higher education who should know about all the appropriate postgraduate courses. I wish I knew more about who's who in the UK. Well, only one oral this afternoon, and then read again that project with the missing results.

Day Five

I do learn a lot when I travel. I often think that everywhere else academics are different. I'm the only one who finds making changes difficult. Innovation or change... does it always mean change for the better is, as one student said, a state of being. The student said: "I am number one resistor in my department." Even my "capacity for resistance" is very high and these students have not only to design and implement a course module in their departments but to seek its adoption and manage its evolution with their departments. To some it is as difficult as having no mosquitoes in a malaria-free zone. They have never taken a very pragmatic view of failure. If at first they don't succeed, give up. Well, not quite, but the management structure of departments is difficult for young staff to find time to allocate to the never-ending business of striking one's colleagues, making changes to regulations, and generally abusing one's title to achieve innovation or change.
Well, tomorrow it is the cruise up the Nile. I will of course decay any pleasures to my Nile friend, but say that I could just see the Great Pyramids at Giza from my humble bedroom window in my hotel just beside the Nile Hilton.

Ray McAleese

The author is Director of the University Teaching Centre at Aberdeen University.

It looks as if we'll stick on 16...



Tessa Blackstone

much less of a legal and administrative quagmire than part-time compulsory education for young workers. In short it was the easier way out.

Whether it was the right way out is a difficult question to answer. When the raising of the school leaving age was being debated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it seemed to me wrong that the alternatives were barely even considered. Most of the argument was about whether leaving age should be raised or left at 15. It was not about whether the best way to extend education for older adolescents was via the part-time post-school route or more secondary schooling.

The arguments of the opponents of ROSLA now look even more respectable than they did at the time. They claimed that there were not enough resources to do it. But by the end of the 1960s it should have been clear that five years of a falling birth rate would free resources. Empty school buildings and unemployed teachers certainly make that argument look somewhat hollow today. They claimed that it would be impossible to continue 15-year-olds, who wished to leave, and that truancy would rocket. Truancy rates in the final year of school are worryingly

high but there is little evidence that they are much higher than when the final year took place from 14 to 15. They claimed that it would not be possible to teach many of these young people anything and that they would be better off working. Today's youth unemployment figures make that argument look, to say the least, unfortunite.

But the interesting question is whether, given the weakness of these kind of arguments, we should be considering raising the school leaving age again. It is certainly not a line that has featured on anyone's agenda for educational reform. The reason for this is clear. Whereas over the last 70 years or so the alternative of part-time education and work was always discarded, it has now been accepted, if not by everyone, and in a slightly different form from day continuation schools and county colleges.

The Youth Training Scheme has been described by some people as being the school leaving age. To describe it in this way is wrong. It misses the vital point that although the YTS entails an extension of education, which comes close to being compulsory, it is not an extension of schooling. Why after such a long period have we broken the mould? To speculate, it is possible that it could only happen when the extension of education for adolescents was taken out of the hands of those who control and provide education and given to a different group of people, primarily concerned with employment and training. This meant that in spite of growing spare capacity in secondary schools, powerful educational interests, including the teachers' unions, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, and the local education authorities, could be by-passed and different kinds of solutions to the traditional one found. Indeed much of the criticism of the Manpower Services Commission and its activities may well be a reflection of educationalists' desperate last gasp for "more of the same", even though the criticisms are of course over-expressed in those terms.

Although Edward Short once talked of a school leaving age of 18 as a long-term goal, this now looks extremely unlikely. If forced to make a prediction, always a dangerous activity, I would say that it looks as if there will not in the foreseeable future be another ROSLA to confuse foreign visitors in the staff room.

not merely that the present system creates problems but that solutions could be found. The Scottish system, although not perfect, allows both greater equity and greater flexibility and, what is more, it does so within a single system. In Scotland the single negotiation system permits the agreement of three different ranges for the tertiary sector: one for 16 to 18, one for 18 and one for those who teach at university equivalent level. Perhaps it is time that the English (and the Welsh and Irish) decided to overlook Bannockburn and to learn a little from the Scots.

This year's dance is about to begin and the steps are those of an English dance rather than a Scots reel. The negotiations have real problems of parity to deal with for the HE-leader: at the top of the career ladder is at present earning £689 a year, less than his/her equivalent in a university. The HE lecturer who attains the top of the promoted scale is earning £1,162 less and has only two thirds of the chance of attaining that scale, and further behind the code of living.

We will undoubtedly be told that in a time of high unemployment and of redundancies teachers should not press any claim for parity; such things however do not make the case, itself weaker, if it were to be a mockery of our intelligence if once again those in the teaching profession who would have the strongest case, if there were, put to an independent tribunal, were to receive the smallest percentage rise simply because their case was not given the opportunity to be heard.

The time has come when something needs to be done to overhaul, or even replace, the Burnham committee. Indeed for more than a year the Department of Education and Science has been considering the possibility of restructuring it. Yet, in a parliamentary answer to Mrs. Angela Rumbold, the Secretary of State has made it clear that he has no intention of making any changes. This is hardly surprising when the bulk of the evidence which has been made public in support of change was concerned only with (i) the removal of any control over salaries through the DES (the very body which, in the setting up of the HOD, was responsible for the only satisfactory attempt to produce a salary system which paid regard to parity and the bringing of the conditions of service under a single amorphous set of negotiations. Such moves would hardly cure the ailments which have been diagnosed. Indeed they would be a further step towards the abolition of the conditions of service for all types and levels of teacher under a single amorphous set of negotiations. Such moves would hardly cure the ailments which have been diagnosed. Indeed they would be a further step towards the abolition of the conditions of service for all types and levels of teacher under a single amorphous set of negotiations.

Hugh Mason

The author is Assistant National Secretary of the Association of Polytechnic Teachers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The crisis in English studies

Sir, — Nicholas Tredell (THES, February 25) misses the main point of Maurice Bell's letter. I share some of his reservations about Hawkes, Widdowson etc, but I also share their feeling that there is a crisis in English studies, and I'd agree with Tredell that "apathy, reactionary boorishness, liberal complacency, and intellectual laziness" have led to this crisis.

Yet Tredell has little constructive to suggest. Do we just reassert the "traditional resources of English culture" without considering either the values or the shaping of that culture? Do we simply ignore the voices of those who feel excluded by this culture? Mr Tredell must be deeply ignorant if he believes these are voices only of cultural hooligans and of political vandals. Literature is more important than theory, but teaching English is now (if done seriously) a matter of finding ways of making that assertion convincing to intelligent people who are indeed often extremely ignorant of the tradition in question, but who also refuse to take its importance for granted. This former is profoundly worrying; the latter at root intellectually proper.

Isosar as Hawkes, Belsey and others are asking questions about the largely undefined structures and procedures of English teaching, they are to be thanked. What I thought Maurice Bell was getting at was David Holbrook's brand of lazy elitism, that reflex conservatism which would make genuine thinking about literature as redundant as in the books of E. M. W. Tillyard. She was also talking about how it felt to read English at a particular university at a

particular time. Does Tredell have any real idea why she feels as she does? Or would he merely tell her to be a good girl and listen obediently to her "betters".
Yours faithfully,
GEORGE PARETTI,
School of English Studies,
University of Nottingham.

Sir, — What in the world can I have done to Nicholas Tredell (THES, letters, February 25)?

I was lying on my convalescent couch deriving almost boundless pleasure and refreshment from *Little Dorrit*, when my astonished attention was drawn to the claim that if I had my way students would be refused access to traditional literary texts. Tredell aligns me (I think) with those who abuse their power to "coerce" students "covertly" into reading post-structuralist theory (how do you coerce covertly?) and urges organized resistance to our joint efforts to deprive working-class students, male and female, of their literary heritage.

But little lions in the argument make me wonder just who is preventing whom from what. "Students will not be allowed (the prohibition will be subtle) to read the texts of, say, Leavis' 'great tradition' except that they will be allowed to read them. But the implication is that they'll be reading them the wrong way, that 'traditional' way. It seems to follow that there was, is and always will be only one correct way to read, that this has already been adequately defined (by Leavis?) and that any alternative proposals must be denounced rather than discussed.

(There doesn't seem to be much of a role for "traditional" academic debate here.)

And then there's the question of what students are to read. I want them to read Shakespeare and the Bible and Milton, *Middlemarch* and *Sybil*, Leavis and Barthes and Foucault — and consider the problems they present. How much of this, I wonder, does Tredell want to put a stop to? It was Leavis, of course, who was the real master of subtle prohibition, urging throughout his work that there was something not quite "fine" about the minds of people who wanted to read outside a very narrow and purely fictional canon. This view is regrettably still dominant in English literary studies.

Take *Little Dorrit*, for instance. That didn't make the great tradition. Isn't it just a little bit *indiscreet* of me to be enjoying it quite so much? But then I can't promise that I'm reading it *correctly*...

Yours faithfully,
CATHERINE BELSEY,
Department of English,
University College, Cardiff.

Sir, — In my contribution to the symposium on English in the university (THES, February 11) I feel, looking at the piece in cold print, that I may have given an unfair impression of my own students, which is unfortunate, since I have learnt so much from them, since I returned to teaching a year and a half ago. I don't budge from my main argument, which was really concerned with the welfare of students in the humanities in general.

What must be said is that among Cambridge English students, at least

the ones I have worked with, I find a passionate sincerity, and a deep and genuine interest in literature. I would be sorry to give any other impression. And when they get here, they take off in no mean fashion.

There are difficulties of "meeting" in the way I have emphasized, not least when a teacher has strong opinions: my students feel that my selection of literature is strongly prejudiced by my own preferences. But, I tell them, they would find this with anyone who was really interested. Where my interests have met theirs, we have entered into the possession of a work with — to me at any rate — great satisfaction. I think particularly of one afternoon on *Kubla Khan*, and another on Coleridge's *Dejection Ode* which is not the easiest of poems. Working from their own natural capacities for responding to poetic meaning, students recreated the poetic logic and meaning of the works. One learns a great deal from such experiences. A central practice in my own teaching is to present a poem, usually unseen, in this way, in a seminar at which the students do the talking. What comes out of this is often very heartening, not because of displays of specialist knowledge, or "brilliance", but a recognition that, given the opportunity, young people can exercise their skills of understanding the meaning of words. It is certainly a valuable antidote to the pessimism into which Leavis fell in his late years. One's students, even when one disagrees with them, give one hope for the future.

Yours etc,
DAVID HOLBROOK,
Downing College, Cambridge.

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Business degrees

Sir, — The article by Connal Boyle on the CNAA experience (THES, February 25), draws a number of wide ranging conclusions from an analysis of one subject taught in the first year of business studies degrees, namely quantitative methods. This subject is taught as a necessary foundation to ensure the numerical competence of students who will in later years of their degree programme be dealing with complex problems across a wide range of functional areas of business. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the words in print are always bear consideration. In such a comprehensive and undertake a study of business studies degrees, he would doubtless recognize the wide diversity of the courses which are offered and which range from highly integrated courses in which the functions of business are introduced, if not in the first then in the second year, to others which stress disciplines.

A cursory glance at the CNAA directory will reveal a wide range of courses not only in business studies but in the humanities, social sciences and indeed the whole spectrum of degree programmes where innovation has been a key factor in course development. This innovation has itself been a major factor in staff development in the public sector and to suggest that it is a waste of staff resources is to demonstrate a lack of understanding of the process of staff development in the public sector.

The CNAA has not, it is true, published details of course content since its own resources have not permitted its staff to undertake such research activities. However, a publication will shortly appear jointly with the Higher Education Foundation, which reviews some aspects of the development of business studies degrees and we commend this to the attention of Mr Boyle and his colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
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The author is Assistant National Secretary of the Association of Polytechnic Teachers.

Keynesian theory

Sir, — We would like to raise a few points in reply to Professor Surrey's scathingly dismissive review of our book *Money Matters: A Keynesian Approach to Monetary Economics* (THES, February 25). In essence, his review claims that as a consequence of being widely ambitious, it is inevitably so superficial that its only role is "as light pre-course reading" — except that it is methodologically too dangerous even to fulfil that function. Since we have received a number of letters congratulating us on, as one put it, this important attempt to state the "fundamental Keynesian view" in such a comprehensive and understandable way, we are rather surprised by Surrey's extreme reaction. Perhaps he is yet another example of Kuhnian paradigmatic blinkering in action.

The book contains 18 chapters, each of around 6,000 words. Surrey lists some of the topics we cover and then, with absolutely no attempt to prove his point, jumps to claim that our work is superficial. We would contend that arguments in this book

are not superficial, but concisely stated. We may only be able to give 6,000 words to, for example, crowding out but we know of no other text that even gives this topic a chapter in its own right; and we can hardly imagine undergraduate readers being unable to extract from it the material for a first class tutorial or exam answer. Furthermore, many of our chapters include novel critiques of contributions by leading theorists; Surrey makes no mention of these.

Surrey alleges that we have a case study of OPEC. This makes us wonder quite how carefully he has read the book. There is no such case study. OPEC oil price rises are only mentioned in the context of financial instability and in a section in which we consider an issue that often puzzles undergraduates, namely, how monetarists deal with the Keynesian claim that the inflation of the mid 1970s has a lot to do with oil price rises and union militancy.

Surrey considers our subjectivist methodological approach highly dangerous. We would ask: "If both monetarists and Keynesians both

claim that evidence supports their views and falsify each other's analyses, how would Professor Surrey choose who is correct?" Our own approach was to move to examine internal logic and assume plausible ability in relation to institutional facts of life. Our Keynesian "bias" consists in looking at economic systems in the belief that uncertainty makes "money matter" as more than a veil over real forces, but we do point out how money can be used to the world from a monetarist perspective on to different conclusions. A methodological theme embodying this position does indeed run through the book; for, unlike many theorists, we prefer to be honest instead of assailing that empirical evidence makes the choice of theories clearcut. It is this honesty that Surrey deprecates as "bias" by quoting us out of context. Could it be that our remarks about empirical work have touched a sensitive spot with him?

SHEILA C. DOW,
PETER E. EARL,
Lecturers in economics, University of Stirling.

Lecturers' contracts

Sir, — Your report entitled "Quirk quizzed over tenure" (THES, March 4) omitted one important aspect of my comments. The vice-chancellor of London University, Professor Randolph Quirk, is reported as favouring some "standardization of contracts" for all the academic staff in the university. Such standardization, of course, already exists for the professors and readers, who have tenure enshrined in the university statutes.

The Association of University Teachers has on numerous occasions proposed both at national and at London level that there could be a common, negotiated conditions of service, but this has always been rejected. Ironically, the one common element in the contracts of lecturers is governed by the national agreement on probation, which Professor Quirk and his colleagues are so keen to tear up unilaterally.

As a leading member of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and vice-chancellor of Britain's largest university, perhaps Professor Quirk will come clean and publicly declare where he stands. Is or is he not in favour of nationally — or even London — negotiated conditions of service?

Yours sincerely,
BILL STEPHENSON,
London Committee of the AUT.

Cancer cells

Sir, — May I follow up my article on cancer and molecular biology (THES, March 4) with news of a further important advance. I described how copies of a single gene from a tumour virus had transformed normal skin cells into cancer cells. Some scientists have argued that by the very fact of growing in culture such skin cells have already passed halfway to becoming cancer cells; hence their transformation by the viral cancer gene does not constitute proof that these genes are sufficient to cause malignancy. These doubts have been dispelled by Hsing-Joon Kung and others at Michigan State University, who report that injection of cancer genes from the Rous Sarcoma Virus into chicken embryos the growth of tumours. This is the first time that chemically isolated copies of single genes have actually been proved to give rise to tumours in an animal. It adds further support to the concept of cancer genes and underlines the importance of molecular biology in the study of carcinogenesis (see *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA*, Vol 80, 1983, 1983).

Yours faithfully,
YOUNG PERUTZ,
Laboratory of Molecular Biology,
Medical Research Council,
Cambridge.

Steiner's anthroposophy

Sir, — It is not unusual to find Dr Geoffrey Aherin in places of higher education spinning his own fantastic and essentially unscientific account of Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy.

Having set an extraordinary context in his "History of Mystery" (THES, February 11), he says: "... by the end of the nineteenth century Western esotericism such as Rudolf Steiner's place much more stress on the development of individual awareness of spirit." Is there any scrap of evidence for the existence of "Western esotericism" in Rudolf Steiner's work by the end of the nineteenth century? Certainly, none is given.

By then, Steiner had graduated in maths, chemistry and physics from the Technical High School in Vienna; he had edited, on request, Goethe's natural-scientific writings on botany, zoology, geology and cell theory for the Kirschner edition of his "The Theory of Knowledge Implied in Goethe's World-Conception" (1886), and received a doctorate for his "Truth and Science" (1891).

Yours sincerely,
CHARLES LAWRIE,
Librarian at
Rudolf Steiner House,
35 Park Road,
London NW1.

Korean division

Sir, — As the president of the Association for Korean Studies in Europe referred to in Don's Diary (THES, February 18), I suppose I really should correct every misrepresentation of the association which it made, but I will let most of it go. The piece, I take it, is intended as no more than an entertainment for English ladies and gentlemen, such as a hundred years ago, might have been entitled "Ten Days Among the Top-Knots".

There is perhaps just one point worth taking up from it. Mr Foster-Carter observes that while he, a member of the department of sociology, University of Leeds, England, feels the full tragedy of the division of Korea (because North Korea will not allow him contact with sociologists under their jurisdiction), Koreans in South Korea enjoy the confrontation with North Korea in a carnival spirit.

His apparent failure to observe while in Korea that Koreans in the south have parents, brothers and sisters and children in the north, with whom they have been allowed no contact at all for about 30 years, is strangely reminiscent of those first Christian missionaries who reported that Korea had no religion because they could not see any churches. Mr Foster-Carter must have come to this bizarre conclusion because, as he says, he is unable to understand what Koreans are saying to each other.

May I therefore please just make one point about our association? It is founded on a belief that Europeans can understand other cultures better by listening to those whose lives make up those cultures than by devising sociological theories.

The association will be meeting again next month to hear and discuss 32 papers on subjects ranging from the formation of the first states in Korea to constraints in the combinations of morphemes in contemporary Korean. Thirteen of the speakers have studied in North Korea and eight of them are women. Discussion will be in English, French, German or Korean. Mr Foster-Carter was invited, but replied that he was unable to attend because he would be visiting centres of Korean studies in America.

Yours faithfully,
W B SKILLEND,
School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London.

Third World course

Sir, — Karen Gold in her article "Third World over-exposure" (THES, March 4) may have given the impression that the Open University Third World studies course takes eight years to study. Last prospective students recoil with horror at such an idea could I confirm that our course is in fact running from February to November each year for the next eight years.

As with most Open University courses it can be taken as an "associate student" course for non-undergraduates. Eighteen TV programmes are included in the course the next one (number three) being shown on Sunday at 12.40 pm.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID WILD,
Third World Studies,
The Open University.

Natfhe and the CND

Sir, — I do not see myself as the "anti-CND man" depicted in the THES of March 4. I am on the basis that the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education as a whole, should not affiliate to the CND.

The crucial paragraph in my election address made my position clear: "I do not believe that affiliation to CND is any concern of our members as members of Natfhe (my title)." It is of individual concern to a great number of men and women, some of whom are our members. Affiliation to CND is their individual right which we would all defend. It is not a logical plank in the policy of our union.

I remain "unashamedly" of that opinion.
Yours faithfully,
BILL ROAD,
Natfhe.